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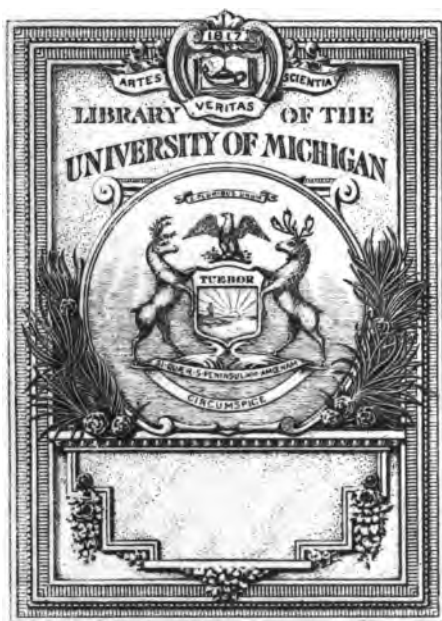
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AN
OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

BY
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THIRD EDITION

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though in the most concise terms, the chief variations of the other dialects. Moreover, the method followed has been the historical: that is, I have endeavored to discriminate between early and late forms in a somewhat more critical manner than has been customary, at least in Germany. In this respect, particularly, my work will need to be supplemented and corrected. Just here, however, I desire to anticipate one objection which may be brought against my statements. When a sound or a form is said to be 'earlier' or 'later,' these terms are to be understood as designating the relative age of two corresponding sounds or forms, or the great preponderance of the one or the other in documents of an earlier or later date, and must not be construed as denying the isolated occurrence of 'later' forms in earlier texts, or the reverse. In the present state of our knowledge of Old English, it is not possible to proceed with any nearer approach to accuracy; as regards the exact chronology of Old English sounds and forms, almost everything is yet to be done.

The citations are not usually intended to be exhaustive, since this was precluded by the very plan of the series. Many details, which appear to be confined exclusively to the language of poetry, have been intentionally omitted, because I believe that the beginner should first acquaint himself with the normal or typical forms of the language; it should be observed, however, that what is lacking in the paragraphs treating of West Saxon will frequently be found under the head of the other dialects. On the other hand, I regret that my account of heterogeneous and heteroclitic nouns is not more full and explicit.

In the phonology, and especially in that of the vowels, it was impossible to avoid touching upon the theories of comparative philology. Here, again, the utmost attainable brevity has been aimed at. In general, an elementary

AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

ABOUT a year ago the publisher of the 'Series of Brief Grammars of the Germanic Dialects' invited me to prepare the Old English member of the series. At that time the pressure of other duties did not justify me in promising him more than a revision of an earlier set of lectures on Old English grammar, adapted to conform to the general plan. The brief sketch which follows, therefore, makes no pretension to be anything more than such a revision, although much has been added in the process of recopying which was foreign to the original draft.

Hitherto, Old English grammars have virtually been founded upon the language of the poetical texts. This is to be deplored, especially when we consider that the manuscripts in which they are contained are uniformly late; that the texts themselves were composed at an earlier period, and frequently in another dialect; and that in our present versions ancient forms are almost hopelessly jumbled with more modern ones, and specimens of the most widely separated dialects are occasionally united in the same composition.

In the present treatise, on the other hand, the language of the older prose writings has, to a greater extent than heretofore, been chosen as the basis of grammatical investigation, since it is safe to assume that they represent in some measure a single dialect. Besides the characterization of the West Saxon, which is everywhere made the most prominent, an attempt has also been made to give,

knowledge of Gothic has been presupposed; Old High German and Old Saxon forms have been introduced only in exceptional instances, and then only when they were required to elucidate some difficulty.

The first effectual stimulus to a historical study of Old English, and the first outlines of Old English dialectology, we owe to Henry Sweet. In the introduction to his edition of the *Cura Pastoralis* the peculiarities of Early West Saxon were pointed out for the first time; and his paper entitled 'Dialects and Prehistoric Forms of English' (*Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1875-76, pp. 453 ff.) first directed attention to the earliest documents, and briefly characterized the principal dialects. Of prime importance are likewise his investigations into the quantity of Old English vowels (120, note); these were intended to prepare the way for a new edition of his *History of English Sounds*, London, 1874—a work which leans rather to a theoretical treatment of Old English phonology. Besides, the grammatical introduction to Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader* (now in its third edition, Oxford, 1881, though I have been able to consult only the second) contains many valuable, and, what is deserving of special recognition in this department of research, trustworthy particulars.

The history of certain parts of the Old English vowel-system has been for the first time illustrated in the researches of H. Paul into the Germanic vowel-system (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 4. 315 ff., and 6. 1 ff.). To these should be added the articles by Ten Brink (*Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum* 19. 211 ff., *Anglia* 1. 512 ff.), and by J. Zupitza (*Anzeiger für Deutsches Alterthum* 2. 1 ff.). Of monographs on special points but few have been published. Zupitza has fully discussed the language of the important Kentish Glosses (*Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum* 19. 1 ff.); while,

besides Sweet, P. J. Cosijn has shed light upon Early West Saxon by his admirable studies of the *Cura Pastoralis* and the *Old English Chronicle* (*Taalkundige Bijdragen*, Haarlem, 1877 ff., 2. 115 ff., 240 ff.), as well as by his *Kurzgefasste Altwestsächsische Grammatik* (I. Theil, *Die Vocale der Stammsilben*, Leiden, 1881). The northern dialects, moreover, which had been almost overlooked since the labors of K. W. Bouterwek (*Introduction to his edition of the Four Gospels in the Old Northumbrian Language*, Gütersloh, 1857; the edition is totally useless so far as the text is concerned) and of M. Heyne (*Kurze Grammatik der Altgermanischen Dialecte*), have recently been made the objects of study. The language of the *Psalter* (Appendix, p. 222¹) has been very critically elucidated by R. Zeuner (*Die Sprache des Kentischen Psalters*, Halle, 1881), and compared with that of the oldest Kentish texts; the author, relying upon an earlier opinion of Sweet's, regarded the *Psalter* as Kentish, but this view is shown to be untenable by his own statements in the treatise referred to. Finally, a similar comprehensive investigation of the Northumbrian documents is soon to be expected from Professor Albert S. Cook.

To what extent I am indebted to these and other predecessors for opinions or material can be easily determined by comparison. To assure every one his due is rendered impossible by the compass and plan of this sketch.

To my friend W. Braune I owe grateful acknowledgments for his aid in the correction of proof-sheets, and for many valuable suggestions with regard to the text itself.

E. SIEVERS.

JENA, February 1, 1882.

¹ See now p. 3. — TR.

EDITOR'S PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

WHILE Sievers' *Angelsächsische Grammatik* was passing through the press, I was a student of philology at the University of Jena. The author had obligingly allowed me to read the whole manuscript before it was placed in the printer's hands, and now favored me with copies of the proof-sheets as fast as they were issued. Under these circumstances it was natural that, when the project of an English version was mooted, I should offer myself as the translator. I did so offer myself, and received from my honored teacher his cordial permission to make such use of his work as I might deem proper; in other words, he left it to my option to expand, curtail, or otherwise modify the original in any way that commended itself to my judgment. The permission thus generously accorded, it has been my aim not to abuse.

The original plan of the grammar has been left intact. Upon first view it seemed labyrinthine, and capable of much simplification; but I was soon persuaded, upon nearer examination, that the complexity of design was owing to the multiplicity of phenomena presented by the three Old English dialects, and still further increased by the endeavor to discriminate between the earlier and later stages of West Saxon. The author might have made his Grammar easier had he chosen to ignore facts which clamored for explanation, instead of seeking to harmonize and account for them; if the work is more difficult, it is also more scientific

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and comprehensive. Moreover, much of the apparent complexity vanishes in actual use. The dialectal variations may be entirely disregarded; examples of Late West Saxon are chiefly confined to the notes; and the system of cross-references will not only facilitate the settlement of a doubtful point, but, if perseveringly utilized, will enable the student readily to comprehend the relations between the different parts of the whole organism — an organism which is not the figment of scholastic invention, but essentially natural and rational.

With the exception of one or two unimportant redistributions of matter, the modifications that have been made are confined to excisions, additions, changes in terminology, and changes in accent. The excisions are of such details as were criticised in my review of the Grammar in the *American Journal of Philology* 6. 228, and need not be dwelt upon in this place.

Important supplementary matter has been furnished by articles in various philological journals. Among these may be mentioned the papers contained in *Englische Studien* 6. 149 ff., 290 ff., and in *Anglia* 6. 171 ff.; the valuable contributions of F. Kluge to Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 26. 68 ff., the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 8. 506 ff., and to *Anglia, Anzeiger zu Band* 5. 81 ff.; but especially the rich collections from Sievers' own hand (*Beiträge* 9. 197–300). So much of this store as promised to render the Grammar more serviceable has been incorporated into its pages, though frequently with such alterations of form as to become practically unrecognizable, except upon careful scrutiny. The First Half of Cosijn's *Altwestsächsische Grammatik* unfortunately came to hand too late to be of any service. Besides the additions made to the body of the

work, the index has been amplified to include all the new words under the head of Inflection.

The term 'Old English' has been substituted throughout for 'Anglo-Saxon.' This change will hardly call for an extended justification. Whatever reasons may be advanced for the retention of the name 'Anglo-Saxon,' the arguments in favor of 'Old English' are manifestly, and, to my mind, overwhelmingly superior. The latter rest upon the practically invariable usage of our English forefathers, and upon the need of marking, by a simple as well as intelligible nomenclature, the succession of periods or stages in the development of our language. At the very beginning of the Preface to the English Chronicle, we are told that 'in this island there are five languages: English (Englisc), British, Scotch, Pictish, and Latin.' Alfred, in his circular letter prefixed to the Pastoral Care, advises that all freemen's sons be set to learning 'until such time as they can interpret English (Englisc) writing well,' and states that he has undertaken to 'render into English' the book known in Latin as 'Pastoralis.' A century later, Ælfric, speaking of his grammar, says: 'I, Ælfric, have attempted to translate this little book into English speech'; further on, when treating of letters, he states that '*littera* is *stæf* in English' (p. 4 of Zupitza's edition); and again, that 'y is very common in English writings.' Again, in the Old English version of the Gospels, the text of Matthew 27. 46, interpreting the Aramaic, reads, 'that is in English (Englisc), My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' And while 'English' is thus repeatedly employed to denote the language, 'Anglo-Saxon' never once occurs in this sense. But, if the application of the term English to the speech of our ancestors is warranted by their own practice, the phrase Old English is at least equally well supported

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by convenience, analogy, and sound philological principles. No one scruples to say Old Saxon, Old Norse, or Old French, while the sequence of Old High German, Middle High German, and Modern or New High German (Brandt's German Grammar, § 485) is too well established to be overthrown. The designation of the successive epochs in the history of English by the same terms — Old, Middle, and Modern — which have been so long and consistently applied to the sister tongue, can therefore hardly be regarded as constituting a serious innovation. These adjectives carry their meaning on their face, and do not require, for ordinary purposes, an interpretation at the hands of the professional philologist; yet, while sufficiently flexible for popular use in their current acceptations, they admit of strict scholarly definition, and are thus open to no valid objection on either score.

With regard to accent, I have followed Sweet in the third edition of his Reader; that is, I have uniformly employed the acute, and placed it over the former of the two elements in a long diphthong, thus differing from Sievers, who writes simple long vowels with the circumflex, and places the acute over the second element of a long diphthong. A uniform adherence to one or the other accent is dictated by considerations of simplicity and economy, while Sievers himself distinctly affirms that the stress in every diphthong falls upon the first of the two components, though he ignores the theory in his notation.

In conformity with Sweet's practice, I have designated the **o**, standing for **a** before nasals, by **ø**, and the umlaut-**e** by **ë**, original **e** being left unmarked. The **z** of the German edition has been replaced by **g**, since it is not easy to discern any advantage in the retention of the manuscript form. In the index, **ſ**, whether initial or medial, has been

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made to follow **t**, instead of being inserted, when medial, after **d**. . . .

In conclusion, it only remains to express the hope that what is best in this treatise may be ascribed to Professor Sievers, and that what is faulty in execution may be set down to the unwisdom of its editor.

ALBERT S. COOK.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY, CAL., March 19, 1885.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

[In the first paragraph, the author recapitulates the substance of the second, third, and sixth paragraphs of his Preface to the First Edition, and then proceeds as follows:]

Under these circumstances, I have considered it advisable to incorporate into this new edition such assured material as was ready to my hand. In addition to a number of special investigations, catalogued at the end of this volume, my own collections have again been my chief dependence. Some of these, accompanied by references to the texts from which they were drawn, have been published in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge* 9. 197 ff., but the labor of making excerpts has been carried on uninterruptedly, so as to include the texts which have been published in the interval between that time and the present. That the search has not brought to light any very considerable number of important facts, emboldens me to assume that the more essential linguistic phenomena of Old English have been observed and expounded with sufficient completeness. To furnish an exhaustive presentation of details lay as little within the scope of the present as of the former edition. It would have been easy for me to increase materially the number of examples under each head, had such a procedure been consistent with the general plan of this compend. Notwithstanding this limitation, I trust that no considerable omissions will be discovered, except in two branches of the subject, which I have been deterred from revising more thoroughly, in deference to others who have

undertaken to investigate them. The Grammar of Northumbrian, by Albert S. Cook, the admirable redactor of the English version of this little treatise, already announced in the Preface to the First Edition, has been considerably advanced in the meantime, but not yet entirely finished; while the appearance of Sweet's Grammar of the Oldest Texts is now unfortunately postponed by Sweet himself (Oldest English Texts v ff.) to a quite indefinite future.

The manuscript of the new edition was virtually finished by the end of 1884, and the printing began early in 1885. Some of the more recent researches could not, therefore, be utilized. On the other hand, I have to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to those who have assisted me by the loan of still unpublished texts. The advance sheets of Sweet's Old English Texts were entrusted to me by the kindness of their editor as early as 1882. Professor A. Schröer has likewise courteously permitted me to use the proof-sheets of his edition of the Benedictine Rule. Finally, I am indebted to my friend F. Kluge for the loan of his apograph of Byrhtferth's Enchiridion, since published in Anglia 8. 298 ff. He has also revised the greater part of the manuscript, and furnished me with a number of valuable comments and addenda.

E. SIEVERS.

TÜBINGEN, May 15, 1886.

EDITOR'S PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

IN the present work I have endeavored to include all that is essential in the second German edition. This has demanded the rewriting of large portions, though the less important details have again been omitted, and the paragraph numbers do not in all cases correspond with those of the German. The form of my first edition was in part determined by the necessity of incorporating much new matter, not found in my original, and its general outlines have been preserved in this new one, even when previous statements have been modified, and later discoveries introduced.

The Index to the new German edition is a great improvement upon its predecessor, though it is confined to Old English words, and is not free from inaccuracies. These inaccuracies have been corrected to the best of my ability, and full Indexes of the words quoted from other languages have been added. It is hoped that this latter feature will facilitate the use of the book by students whose chief concern is with some other Germanic tongue, or with the more general problems of Comparative Philology.

I am under obligation to Professor J. M. Hart for some useful criticisms upon the first edition, to Professor Sievers for permission to use the advance sheets of the revised book, and to all those whose approbation of my former effort has encouraged me to attempt this revision.

ALBERT S. COOK.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
July 4, 1887.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

IN accordance with the urgent desire of the publisher, I resolved last autumn to carry 'through for the nonce a mere reimpression of the second edition of my Old English Grammar, and thus provide at least for the needs of the moment, instead of the complete revision which, though it had been in hand for a long time, was only partly finished. As soon as the printing began, however, I became aware that this plan was untenable. Accordingly, while typesetting and printing were in progress, I have rectified and expanded the old text, as far as was possible within the time at my disposal (October, 1897, to the beginning of January, 1898), by the aid of my own completed investigations or those of others (here I must mention with very special gratitude the names of Cosijn, Brown, Cook, and Lindelöf). Under these circumstances it was quite impossible to attain perfect uniformity in the treatment of the various parts of the book. Changes have been made, especially in the Phonology, which in some places cried out with peculiar insistence for revision, wherever I could with any assurance replace an outworn formula by a more positive one; other sections, especially 120-125, I have left unchanged, because I found it impossible to resolve my doubts concerning them. Moreover, for the technical reasons suggested above, I felt myself bound to retain, as far as possible, the former numbering of paragraphs and notes. However, since this could not always be compassed, it has resulted that a number of references

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from later to earlier sheets have become incorrect in consequence of the changes which had afterward to be made in the numeration, a fact which I beg may be borne in mind as an explanation of the unpleasantly long list of errata at the end of the book.

The general plan of the book has therefore remained the same as in the previous edition. One thing, however, I wish to observe with respect to the somewhat increased number of details, especially in the Inflection; it is that, unless the context evinces the contrary, every such detailed statement is to be understood positively, and not negatively; in other words, the statement that such a form is found in such a text is not to be interpreted as meaning that it does not occur in any other, but only that it does occur there. It should also be noted that the term 'Early West Saxon' must, in case of doubt, be regarded as applying only to the texts treated in Cosijn's *Altwestsächsische Grammatik* (the *Cura Pastoralis*, *Orosius*, and *Chronicle*), and in like manner that the terms 'Kentish,' 'Mercian,' and 'Northumbrian' refer to the corresponding larger dialect texts, which could alone be regularly adduced.

The Index has this time been much amplified, in accordance with a wish which has been frequently expressed; though whether to the advantage of the subject is, to my own mind, almost more than doubtful.

I have thankfully utilized such contributions to the projected revision as interested readers and dear friends, above all A. Pogatscher and K. Luick, had made, so far as they seemed to fit into the present scheme. Besides, I am most heartily obliged to my friend Luick for a number of valuable suggestions which he made during the perusal of the proof-sheets of this edition.

E. SIEVERS.

LEIPZIG-GOHLIS, June 8, 1898.

EDITOR'S PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

IN translating the new German edition I have retained practically all the matter of the original, the general principles of my translation remaining otherwise unchanged. Here and there, as in the previous editions, I have ventured to differ with the author: thus, the term 'Old English' has again been employed (cf. p. ix), and the *ę* and *q* (p. x); *g* replaces *z*, and *ŕ* has the position of *th*, except that initially it follows *t* (cf. p. x). Moreover, the macron is here employed, instead of the acute accent, to denote etymological length, and the acute accent, instead of the macron, to denote secondary lengthening. Under 127 I have introduced a note explaining ablaut more fully, having been led to think that this insertion would be welcomed by many students. In one or two instances I have added the title of some publication which has appeared since the issue of the German edition, and in several cases I have silently corrected a clerical error of the German.

I have not verified the references of the Index, nor have I appended indexes to the cognate tongues, as was done in the second edition. If I have reason to think that this latter omission is unwelcome, there may be opportunity to repair it in future impressions.

For some valuable suggestions I am indebted to Professor M. A. Harris, of Elmira College, and to Professor O. F. Emerson, of Western Reserve University.

ALBERT S. COOK.

YALE UNIVERSITY,
July 11, 1903.

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OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

INTRODUCTION

1. By Old English we mean the language of the Germanic inhabitants of England, from their earliest settlement in that country till about the middle or end of the eleventh century. From this time on the language, which differs from that of the older period by the gradual decay of inflectional forms, and the introduction of French elements, is called Middle English, and still later Modern English, or simply English.

NOTE 1. The OE. writers uniformly call their own language *Englisc*; the Latin authors employ, for the most part, the term *Lingua Saxonica*. The expressions *Ongulseeazan*, Lat. *Anglosaxones*, etc., were originally employed only in a political sense. The argument in favor of employing the term 'Anglo-Saxon' is merely that it has been accepted in usage as applying to the oldest period of English, while 'Old English' has been applied to what is more correctly designated as Middle English. However, this consideration is overborne by the facts that the use of 'Anglo-Saxon,' as an English term applying to the language, dates from only 1783 (cf. *New Eng. Dict.* s. v.); that our early ancestors did not employ it in this sense; that 'Old English' is in conformity with the terminology applied to continental tongues (see above, pp. ix, x); and that 'Old English' is used by an ever increasing number of English philologists, having, among other authorities, the support of the *New English Dictionary*. As a concession to usage, the original of the present work employs 'Anglo-Saxon.'

NOTE 2. Only an approximate date can be assigned to the close of the Old English period. Old English manuscripts were still copied

in the twelfth century, and hence the language was still employed for scholarly and literary purposes. On the other hand, we may infer, from certain indications, that the popular tongue had before 1050 lost many of the phonetic and inflectional peculiarities which distinguish Old English from the later stages of the language; for example, the distinction between dative and accusative.

Old English forms a branch of the so-called West Germanic, *i.e.*, of the unitary language from which, in later times, proceeded Old English, Frisian, Old Saxon, Frankish, and Upper German. It is most nearly related to Frisian, but next to Old Saxon. Compare the editor's *Phonological Investigation of Old English*, Boston, 1888.

2. In the earliest OE. manuscripts the existence of various dialects is plainly discernible. The chief of these are the Northumbrian, in the north; the Midland or Mercian, in the interior; the Saxon, in the south; and the Kentish, in the extreme southeast.

Northumbrian and Mercian together form the Anglian group. The type of Saxon is most clearly exhibited in Wessex, the most westerly Saxon district, and thus West Saxon has come to be regarded as the chief representative of the Saxon dialects. The language of the third invading tribe, the Jutes, is represented in literature by Kentish. Hence the tribal divisions into Angles, Saxons, and Jutes have a grammatical parallel in the threefold division into Anglian, Saxon, and Kentish.

NOTE 1. The pre-Alfredian texts, which are exceedingly important in a linguistic point of view, have been issued in a complete edition by Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, London, 1885. The OE. charters were collected by J. M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, London, 1839-48 (new edition by W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, London, 1883 ff.); the oldest ones are also printed

in Sweet. An extended bibliography is given in R. Wül(c)ker's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Ags. Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1885.

NOTE 2. The principal Northumbrian texts, besides a few Runic inscriptions (Stephens, *The Old Northern Runic Monuments* 1. 405 ff.; Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, 124 ff.; W. Vietor, *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, Marburg, 1895), are an interlinear translation of the Gospels, the so-called Durham Book, or Lindisfarne Gospels (best edition by Skeat: *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew, etc.*, in *Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions*, Cambridge, 1871-87); and a similar translation of the Durham Ritual, edited by Stevenson for the Surtees Society, under the title of *Rituale Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis*, London, 1840 (a collation by Skeat, *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1877-79, London, 1879, App. I. 49 ff.).

NOTE 3. Mercian is supposed to be represented by the modified transcript of the Northumbrian gloss on Matthew (R.¹) in the so-called Rushworth MS., but the dialect seems to be a mixed one, and to contain isolated Saxon forms; as respects the other three Gospels, the dialect of the gloss (R.²) is much closer to that of the Durham Book. The whole is printed in Skeat's edition. The very important interlinear version of the Psalter (in MS. Cotton Vespasian A. 1), which was for some time considered to be Kentish, must certainly be regarded as Mercian in its linguistic character. It was edited by J. Stevenson, *Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter*, for the Surtees Society, London, 1843-47, and more correctly in Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*, pp. 183 ff. The translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* was originally North Anglian, or perhaps Mercian, but the existing transcript is essentially West Saxon (new editions by Thomas Miller, *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, London, 1890 ff.; Schipper, in the *Grein-Wül(c)ker Bibliothek der Ags. Prosa*, Leipzig, 1897-1900). Minor specimens of Mercian have been edited by A. S. Napier, *Anglia* 10. 131 ff. (a life of St. Chad), and by J. Zupitza, *Haupt's Zs.* 33. 47 (glosses).

NOTE 4. The only remains which are certainly Kentish, in addition to a few early charters (printed in Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*), are a metrical translation of the 50th Psalm, a hymn, and a collection of glosses in MS. Vesp. D. 6 of the British Museum. The first two were published in *Anglosaxonica quae primus edidit Fr. Dietrich*, Marburg, 1855, and less correctly by Grein, *Bibliothek der Ags. Poesie* 2. 276 ff., 290 ff. (cf. *Haupt's Zs.* 15. 465 ff.); the glosses by J. Zupitza in *Haupt* 21. 1 ff., 22. 223 ff., and in Wright-Wül(c)ker, *Anglo-Saxon*

and Old English Vocabularies 1. 55 ff. Not pure Kentish, but Kentish containing at least an admixture of Mercian forms, is the Epinal Glossary of the beginning of the eighth century, together with the nearly related Corpus and Erfurt Glossaries, which are the chief sources of our knowledge of the oldest English. The Epinal Glossary was edited by Henry Sweet, London, 1884, with a photolithographic facsimile of the whole manuscript; all three glossaries are in Sweet's *Oldest English Texts* 1 ff., and the Corpus Glossary in Wright-Wül(c)ker 1. 1 ff.

Alfred's translation of Boethius exists for the most part only in two MSS., the Bodleian and the Cottonian, which contain Kentish forms, while a fragment from another Bodleian MS. is in pure West Saxon; the Metres are even more distinctly Kentish (see Sedgefield's edition, pp. xxxv, xxxvi). All are edited by Sedgefield, *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Oxford, 1899.

NOTE 5. Among the ancient specimens of West Saxon are certain works by Alfred the Great, preserved in contemporary manuscripts. These are the translation of Gregory the Great's Pastoral Care (edited by H. Sweet, *King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, London, 1871), and of the Chronicle of Orosius, edited from the Lauderdale MS. by Sweet, *King Alfred's Orosius*, London, 1883. Next is the oldest text (Parker MS.) of the Saxon Chronicle, of which the oldest portion extends to A.D. 891; principal editions by B. Thorpe, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, London, 1861, and by Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, Oxford, 1865, revised and much improved by C. Plummer, Oxford, 1892, 1899. Chief sources for LWS. are especially the numerous and still partly unpublished works of Ælfric (*circa* 1000). His sermons are peculiarly important, on account of their preservation of dialectical peculiarities (edited by B. Thorpe, *The Homilies of Ælfric*, London, 1844-46, for the Ælfric Society); Ælfric's OE. Grammar of Latin was edited by J. Zupitza, Berlin, 1880.

By Pure West Saxon is meant so much of the language of Ælfred and Ælfric as is common to both, excluding the idiosyncrasies of the individual scribes.

NOTE 6. The poetical texts of Old English were collected by C. W. M. Grein, *Bibliothek der Aeg. Poesie*, Cassel und Göttingen, 1857-64 (newly edited by R. P. Wül(c)ker, Cassel, 1881-98). They originated for the most part in the Anglian territory (compare Beitr. 10. 464 ff.), but are nearly all preserved in copies made by Southern scribes. The MSS. belong chiefly to the tenth and eleventh centuries,

and therefore represent no dialect in its purity, but consist of a medley of the most various forms. Not only have Anglian forms frequently been transferred from the originals, but earlier and later forms of the same dialect alternate with each other. The poems, therefore, can only be employed with the utmost caution for grammatical purposes. Now and then, indeed, the metre does allow an approximate determination of the original forms to be made (Beitr. 10. 209 ff., 451 ff.).

3. The chief characteristics of WS. are the representation of Germ. *æ* by *ǣ* (57; 150. 1); the accurate discrimination of *ea* and *eo* (150. 3); the early loss of the sound *œ* (27); and the displacement of the ending *-u*, *-o*, of the ind. pres. 1 sing., by *-e* (355).

In EWS. theumlaut of *ea*, *eo* is *ie*, passing later into *i*, *y* (41; 150. 2). Northumbrian has a tendency to drop final *n* (188. 2), and to convert *we* into *wœ*, and *weo* into *wo* (156). The inflections were unsettled at an early period; especially noticeable is the frequent formation of the ind. pres. 3 sing. and of the whole plur., in *-s* instead of *-ð* (357). The oldest criterion of Kentish is the vocalization of *g* to *i* (214. 2); more recent was the substitution of *e* for *y* (154).

ALPHABET AND PRONUNCIATION

4. The OE. alphabet is the Latin alphabet as modified by English scribes. The letters *f*, *g*, *r*, and *s* are most unlike the usual forms. Besides the Latin letters, there were *ð*, *þ*, and a character for *w*, the two latter being borrowed from the Runic alphabet (note 3).

English editions of OE. texts have often been printed with type made in imitation of the manuscript characters. At present, however, the Roman letters are universally

preferred, with the addition of the characters **ſ** and **þ**. Occasionally, too, the OE. **ȝ** is employed to represent **g**.

NOTE 1. The characters **ȝ** and **g** are not discriminated as indicating respectively spirant and sonant stops (211 ff.) until we reach the MSS. of the close of the OE. period, or later. The OE. manuscripts themselves have only the form **ȝ**, and the Latin manuscripts of the period, written in England, likewise employ it to represent Latin **g**, of which it is only a modified form; hence we can form no conclusion from the mere character regarding its pronunciation at this time. The **ȝ** is employed by some authorities (and so also in the original of the present work) in order not to create the impression that it was introduced later to denote the spirant, whereas in fact it was the **g** which was added to distinguish the sonant stop.

NOTE 2. Abbreviations are not very common in Old English manuscripts. They are usually denoted by **-** or **~**. **-** over vowels signifies **m**, for example **frō** = **from**; over consonants **er**, as in **æft**, **fæstn**, **of** = **æfter**, **fæstern**, **ofer**. On the other hand, **~** denotes **or**, as in **f̃**, **fē**, **befan**, etc. = **for**, **fore**, **beforan**; but **ƿon**, **hƿon** stand for **ƿonne**, **hƿonne**. A **þ** with crossed vertical signifies **pæt**. The following were borrowed from Latin: **ȝ** for **and**, **and**, **and**; and an **l** crossed with an undulatory stroke for **oððe**, **or**. Less common are actual Latin words, such as **dñs** (= **dominus**), or **rex** for OE. **dryhten**, **cynling**.

NOTE 3. Before the introduction of the Latin alphabet, the English already possessed Runic letters. This alphabet is an extension of the old German Runic alphabet of twenty-four letters (L.F.A. Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*, tr. by F. Holthausen, Berlin, 1887). The few Runic remains may be found in G. Stephens, *The Old Northern Runic Monuments*, Copenhagen, 1866, 1. 361 ff., and in Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, pp. 124–130 (cf. also 2, note 2). The most important of these are the inscriptions on the Ruthwell Cross in Northumberland (also in Zupitza-MacLean, *Old and Middle English Reader*; Grein-Wül(c)ker 2. 111–115; best in Vietor, *Die Altnorthumbrischen Runensteine*, pp. 2 ff.; compare Cook, 'Notes on the Ruthwell Cross,' in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* 17. 367–390), Bewcastle Cross in Cumberland (Stephens 1. 398; Vietor, pp. 13 ff.), and the Clermont or Franks casket (Stephens 1. 470 ff.; E. Wadstein, *Ett Engelskt Fornminne från 700-Talet och Englands Dåtida Kultur*, Göteborg, 1901; and especially A. S. Napier, 'The Franks Casket,' in *An English Miscellany*, Oxford, 1901, pp. 362–381).

5. The data for determining the pronunciation of these letters is furnished by the traditional pronunciation of Latin as it obtained in England from about the seventh century; besides, it is not improbable that Celtic (Irish) influences must be taken into account. In doubtful cases we are obliged to resort to variation in the orthography, and especially to phonetic changes and grammatical phenomena in Old English itself, as a means of determining the pronunciation. Moreover, the latter cannot have been the same at all times and in all localities.

In the following chapters on phonology the more precise pronunciation of the individual letters will be indicated, whenever it can be done with any approach to certainty, especially where this differs from the pronunciation of the corresponding Latin letters.

PHONOLOGY

PART I.—THE VOWELS

IN GENERAL

6. The Old English vowels are denoted by the six simple characters *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *y*, the ligature *æ*, and the digraphs *oe*, *ea* (*ia*), *eo*, *io*, and *ie* (rarely *au*, *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *ui*, and in the oldest texts *eu*, *iu*); the latter, with the exception of *oe*, *oi*, and *ui* (and occasionally *eo*, 27, note), having the value of diphthongs.

NOTE 1. Ancient MSS. often write *æ* as *ae*, or even as *e*; so, too, the printed *œ* is always represented by *oe*. The distinctions in both cases are merely graphical, and have nothing to do with the pronunciation. For *ei*, which is mostly restricted to foreign words, the later MSS. have also *eg(e)*, as in *scegð*, *Sweg(e)n*, for *scelð*, *Sweln*. The occurrence of the diphthong *au* is very infrequent; it is found in foreign words like *cawl*, *cole*, *laurtrēow*, *laurel*, *clauster*, *cloister*; and perhaps in *auht*, *auht*, *nauht*, *naught*, *saul*, *soul*, for and beside *ā(w)uht*, *nā(w)uht* (344 ff.), *sā(w)ul* (174. 3). The diphthongs *ai*, *oi*, *ui* are rare, and especially Northumbrian, graphic variants for *æ*, *œ*, and *y* respectively, as in *cnaiht*, *fraigna* (155. 3), *Colnrēd* for *Cōenrēd*, *suinnig* for *synnig*, *sinful*.

NOTE 2. Old English has no diphthongs except those already mentioned. Every other vowel combination (including in most cases *ei*) must be analyzed into its two component vowels: *aidlian* = *ā-īdlian*, *aurnen* = *ā-urnen*, *aytan* = *ā-ȳtan*, *beirnan* = *be-irnan*, *geywed* = *ge-ȳwed*, *geunnan* = *ge-unnan*, etc.; *iu* is generally *ju* (74; 157, note).

7. With respect to the position of the articulating organs, *a*, *o*, *u* are guttural vowels, while *æ*, *e*, *i*, *œ*, *y*

are palatals (see the author's *Phonetik*,⁴ pp. 92 ff.). The diphthongs uniformly begin with a palatal sound.

NOTE. Of the palatal vowels, the following belong to the earliest prehistoric stage of Old English: viz., æ = West Germ. a (49); ē = West Germ. ā (57. 2); e = West Germ. e (53); i; ī; and the initial components of the diphthongs ea, eo, io. On the other hand, the following arose in a somewhat later prehistoric period of OE., and are due to the palatalization of an originally guttural vowel by i-umlaut: viz., ē as i-umlaut of ā (90); ē as i-umlaut of a, ɔ before nasals (89. 4), and of o (93. 1); ē as i-umlaut of ō (94); besides œ, œ̄ (27), and stable y, ȳ (32; 33). These two groups may properly be designated by the terms 'primary palatal vowels' and 'secondary palatal vowels' respectively. The following occupy an intermediate position, in so far as they are umlauts, not of guttural vowels, but of the primary palatals: viz., ē as umlaut of æ (89. 1); ie, īe = unstable i, ī; y as umlaut of ea, eo, io; and ȳ as umlaut of ēa, ēo, īo (97 ff.).

QUANTITY

8. All these vowels, together with the diphthongs, have both short and long quantity. Length is sometimes indicated, especially in the more ancient manuscripts, and again in monosyllables, by gemination of the simple vowel sign (yy probably never being found): aa, breer, miin, doom, huus. The ligatures and diphthongs, on the other hand, are never geminated. At a later period, length is indicated by an acute accent over the vowel sign or combination — á, brér, mín, dóm, hús, mýs, sác, óeðel or oéðel, éac or eác, tréowe or treówe, etc. — though at best it is only employed sporadically, and is subject to no fixed rule. In the present work we shall, in conformity with the latest English usage — though against the German original, which

employs the acute — designate length by the macron, and thus write :

a	æ	e	i	o	œ	u	y
ā	ǣ	ē	ī	ō	œ̄	ū	ȳ

NOTE 1. In Germany it has been customary, following Jacob Grimm, to employ the circumflex over simple vowel signs, instead of the acute : *â, brêr, mîn, dôrn, hûs, mÿs*, etc. Short and long *æ* and *œ* were formerly discriminated as *ä* and *æ*, *ö* and *œ* ; these have now become almost universally *æ* and *ǣ*, *œ* and *œ̄*. Grimm designated the long diphthongs as *eá, eó, íé*, which have latterly been replaced by *eā, eō, íē*, or *êa, êo, îe*.

NOTE 2. The macron in long diphthongs does not denote length of the first element, but a lengthened pronunciation of the whole diphthong (34).

NOTE 3. The circumflex is exceptionally used in this book to distinguish compounds like *ê-a, î-a* from the diphthongs *êa, îa* : *Persêas, Indêas*, North. *wria*, etc. For the designation of secondary lengthening by ' , see 124, note 3.

NOTE 4. Stress is denoted, when at all, by a raised period after the vowel of the stressed syllable, while an unstressed syllable is indicated by a colon ; *o'ndgit* (more exactly, *o'ndgit:t*), but *ongit-tan*, etc.

9. The originally long vowels of certain derivative and final syllables can scarcely ever be proved to have retained their length in OE.; every vowel of a derivative or final syllable must, therefore, generally be regarded as already short.

NOTE. Earlier writers on the subject, in deference to the authority of Jacob Grimm, have wrongly designated the *-e* of the instr. sing. as long. Some grammarians at present attribute length to the ending *-ere*, as in *bôcêre* (248. 1), and to the *-i-* of the Second Weak Conjugation, as in *sealfian* (411 ff.).

WEST SAXON VOWELS

I. THE VOWELS OF STRESSED SYLLABLES

1. SIMPLE VOWELS

a

10. Short **a** is comparatively rare. It is more or less regularly wanting before nasals (65 ff.), and is likewise avoided in all closed syllables. Exceptions are rare: **habban**, **nabban** (415; 416); **crabba**, *crab*; **hnappian** (rarely **hnæppian**), *nap*; **lappa** (more rarely **læppa**), *skirt*; **appla**, plur. of **æppel**, *apple*; **ſaccian**, *stroke*; **mattuc**, *mattock*; **gaſſetung**, *scoffing*; **assa**, *ass*; **asse(n)**, *she-ass*; **cassuc**, **hassuc**, *sedge*; **asce**, *axe*, *ashes*; **flasce**, *flaxe*, *flask*; **masce**, *maxe*, *mesh*; **wascan**, *waxan*, *wash*; **wraſtlian**, **wraſlian**, *wrestle*; **braſtlian**, *crackle*; **sahtlian**, *reconcile*; the Latin words **abbud**, *abbot*, *arc*, *ark*, *carcern*, *prison*, **sacc**, *sack*, **trahtian**, *treat*; and the dialectic **margen**, *morning*, etc. Even in open syllables the presence of the **a** depends in part upon the influence of a following vowel (50).

NOTE. For **a** before **l** in a closed syllable, as in **ald**, **fallan**, see 80; 158. 2.

11. Short **a** springs regularly from a Germ. (Goth.) **a** (49 ff.), **margen** being an exception, as coming from **o** (10).

12. Long **ā** is frequently found, and before all consonants, whether in open or closed syllables: **hātan**, *is called*; **gāst**, *ghost*; **bān**, *bone*, dat. plur. **bānum**, etc.; moreover, in foreign words like **sācerd**, *calend*, **māgis-ter**, from Lat. *sacerdos*, *calendae*, *magister* (50, note 5).

13. \bar{a} regularly corresponds to Germ. (Goth.) ai (62); less frequently, when followed by w , to Germ. \bar{ae} , Goth. \bar{e} (57. 2. a).

\bar{ae}

14. Short \bar{ae} is a vowel sound which is characteristic of Old English; its pronunciation seems to have been that of the modern English short a in *man*, *hat*. It occurs chiefly in closed syllables: $dæg$, *day*; $fæt$, *vat*; $sæt$, *sat*. Its use in open syllables is for the most part confined to such as were closed syllables until the Old English period, as in $\bar{a}cer$, *acre*, Goth. $akrs$, stem $akra-$; $fæger$ (beside $f\bar{a}ger$), *fair*, Goth. $fagrs$, stem $fagra-$; or to such as were followed by an inflectional (\bar{ae}), e , as gen. $dæg-es$, dat. $dæge$, from nom. acc. $dæg$.

15. Short \bar{ae} usually represents a Germ. (Goth.) a (49); it is wanting before nasals (65), before w (73), before h terminating a syllable (82), before r + consonant (79), and in WS. before l + consonant (80).

NOTE. \bar{ae} is occasionally found in place of e (89, note 5).

16. Long \bar{ae} seems generally to have had the pronunciation of the German long \bar{a} . It occurs quite frequently, and is not restricted by any special influences.

17. The \bar{ae} is of various origin. It is either

1) i-umlaut of OE. \bar{a} = Germ. (Goth.) ai , as in $\bar{l}æran$, Goth. $\bar{l}aisjan$, *teach*, from OE. $\bar{l}ār$, *lore*; $\bar{st}ænen$, *stony*, from $\bar{st}ān$, *stone* (90); or

2) developed from Germ. \bar{ae} , Goth. \bar{e} , as in $\bar{b}æron$, *bore*; $\bar{m}æg$, *kinsman* (Goth. $\bar{b}ērun$, $\bar{m}ēgs$) (57. 2); or

3) developed from Latin *ā*, as in *stræt*, *street* (57. 1);
or, finally,

4) lengthened from short *æ*, as in *sæde*, *said*, for
sægde (214. 3).

e

18. Short *e* is one of the commonest sounds of Old English. As regards its pronunciation, it would seem that various sounds (as in Middle High German, for example) are represented by the same letter, or at least an open and a close sound. It is, however, impossible to trace this distinction through all periods with perfect certainty.

19. The twofold pronunciation of the *e* is undoubtedly to be referred to its twofold origin, it being either

1) an older *e*, i.e., it corresponds to a Germ., (OHG. OS.) *ë*, Goth. *i*, as in *stelan*, *steal* (OHG. OS. *stēlan*, Goth. *stilan*) (53); or it is

2) umlaut-*e*, and then either *a)* i-umlaut of *a*, or more exactly of *æ*, as in *settan*, *set*, Goth. *satjan* (89. 1); or *b)* i-umlaut of *o*, from *a* before nasals, as in *ceñnan*, Goth. *kannjan* (89. 4); or *c)* i-umlaut of *o*, as in *exen*, from *oxa*, *ox* (93. 1).

Which of these *e*'s had the open and which the close sound cannot be ascertained with certainty; yet it is probable that (in opposition to the OHG.) the umlaut-*e* was in general the more open of the two, and that the umlaut-*e* itself may have been variously pronounced according to its origin (89, note 5).

The umlaut-*e* is denoted in the present translation by *ę*, while the older *e* remains unmarked.

NOTE. The above designation of the umlaut-*e* is in accordance with the practice of such scholars as Holtzmann and Sweet. Many Germans, following Jacob Grimm, denote the ancient *e* by *ē*, and this practice is followed in the original of the present book, the umlaut-*e* being left undesignated, because the MSS. often write *e* for *æ* (6, note 1).

20. The older *e* is lacking before nasals and nasal combinations (45.2; 69), and, in common with the umlaut-*e*, is restricted by the influence of *w* (73), diphthongization after palatals (74 ff.), the various breakings (77 ff.), and the *u*- and *o*-umlauts (101 ff.).

21. Long *ē*, a tolerably common sound, springs from various originals. It corresponds,

1) though but seldom, to Germ. (Goth.) *ē*, OHG. *ea*, *ia*, as in *hēr*, *here* (58); it is

2) *i*-umlaut of *ō* (94);

3) of unknown origin in the preterit of certain reduplicating verbs (395.2). In addition to these regular correspondences, *ē* also occurs now and then

4) as *i*-umlaut of *ēa* (97; 99), and

5) as an occasional form of *æ* (57, note 2; 150.1; 151).

i

22. It is necessary to distinguish between two *i*-sounds in WS. The one evidently had a purer *i*-quality, and is therefore consistently expressed by *i* down to a late period and in all dialects; only in very late documents does *y* sometimes take its place. The second *i*-sound, which originally sprang from a diphthong, *ie*, *io*, was assimilated to the pronunciation of the *y* earlier than the other, for which reason the character representing it

fluctuated much earlier between **i** and **y** (and the older **ie**, **io**, cf. 97 ff.). These statements hold good without distinction both for the short and the long vowel.

We will distinguish the two sounds as *stable* and *unstable i*.

NOTE. In Manuscript H of the Cura Pastoralis **ie** does indeed occur for stable **i**, **ī**.

23. Stable short **i** corresponds

1) usually to a Germ. **i**, as well when the latter represents Indo-European **i** as when it is a Germ. development of an Indo-European **e** (45; 54);

2) it is a peculiarly OE. development of a Germ. **e**, as in **niman** (69).

Unstable short **i**, on the other hand, is, as a rule, the more recent modification of an original **ie**, less frequently **io** (97 ff.; 105; 107. 4 ff.).

24. Stable long **ī** is either

1) the representative of a Germ. **ī** (59), or

2) has arisen from Germ. **i** by ecthipsis, contraction, etc. (185; 214. 3, 4).

Unstable long **ī**, on the contrary, is the modification of an older **ie** (97 ff.).

NOTE. For final long **ī** the MSS. (though hardly the oldest ones) often have **ig**: **big** (also in compounds like **bigspel**, *example*; **biggenga**, *cultivator*), **hig**, **sig**, for **bī**, *by*, **hī**, *they*, **sī**, *be*; so also **igge** for **ige**, as in **wiggend**, *warrior*, for **wigend**; **igge** from **īg**, *island*, for **ige**, etc. (rarely before other vowels: **iggað**, **iggoð**, *island*).

o

25. Short **o** in stem syllables is of twofold origin, and accordingly represents two different sounds:

1) close **o**, Goth. **u**, as in **god**, *God*; **boda**, *messenger*, etc. (55). This **o** does not occur before nasals (70).

2) open **o**, corresponding to a Germ. (Goth.) **a** before nasals, and often interchanging with **a**, as in **monn** and **mann**, *man*; **hona** and **hana**, *cock* (65).

NOTE. The MSS. do not distinguish between the two **o**-sounds; Sweet follows the example of the old Norse MSS. in denoting the open **o** by **q**, — thus, **monn**, **hona**, as contrasted with **god**, **boda**, etc. For grammatical purposes this notation is to be recommended, and it is accordingly adopted in the present translation (though not in the original).

26. The sound of long **ō** cannot be ascertained with entire certainty; it is not improbable that the long as well as the short **o** had originally a double pronunciation, close and open, corresponding to its twofold origin. It is

1) the representative of Germ. (Goth.) **ō**, as in **gōd**, *good* (60), and in that case was probably close from the beginning; or

2) the representative of Germ. **æ** before nasals, as in **mōnað**, *month* (68); or

3) lengthened from **on** = Germ. (Goth.) **an**, as in **gōs**, *goose* (186).

The open pronunciation may be assumed as original in cases 2 and 3, but its continuance into the historic OE. period cannot be demonstrated.

NOTE. Long **ō** appears in foreign words as the representative of ON. **au**, as in **ōra**, *a certain coin*, **landcōp**, *purchase of land*, **lāhcop**,

legal purchase, *rōda*, *ruddy* from ON. *aurar*, *-kaup*, *rauðr*; but there occur on the coins such spellings as *Ouðgrim*, *Asgout*, *Oustman*, adhering closely to the ON. orthography.

œ

27. The two sounds œ and œ̄, which are of frequent occurrence in the oldest non-West Saxon texts, and more especially in the Ps. and North., are no longer to be found in the oldest documents of WS., if we except a few scattered œ̄'s (94, note). As substitutes for the two sounds occur the delabialized e, ē.

NOTE. Rarely is eo written for œ = œ̄; *meodren-*, *feo*, *beoc* (Cod. Dipl.) for *mœdren-*, *fœ*, *bœc*.

u

28. A detailed proof of the twofold pronunciation (open and close) of OE. u cannot be given, although probabilities favor this assumption.

29. Short u occurs without limitation before all consonants. It corresponds

- 1) to West Germ. u (56);
- 2) occasionally to West Germ. o, especially before nasals, as in *guma*, *man* (70);
- 3) it frequently arises from io (i) and eo, in the combinations *wio* and *weo* (71; 72).

30. Long ū has a twofold origin. It is usually

- 1) the representative of Germ. ū, as in *hūs*, *house* (61);
- 2) due to the loss of a nasal from the combination un, as in *mūð*, *mouth* (186; cf. also 214. 3, note 8).

y

31. In the older WS. documents, as well as in the other dialects, the letter y originally denoted a sound resembling the German ü, the i-umlaut of u. This y we will characterize as *stable*. Besides this stable y, there occurs in LWS. an unstable y, interchanging with i (22).

NOTE. Not till a comparatively late period does i sometimes take the place of stable y, first of all in the combination ci for cy, as in *cining*, *cinn* (or *kinning*, *kinn*, 207, note 2); *scildig*, *guilty*; before palatals, as in *hige*, *mind*; *hicgean*, *think*; *bicgean*, *buy*; *dihtig*, *doughty*; *genihtsum*, *plentiful*; *drige*, *dry*; and before n, l + palatal, as in *ſincean*, *seem*; *hingrian*, *hunger*; *spincege*, *sponge*; *æspring*, *fount*; *ſiligan*, *follow*; *æbilligð*, *anger*, etc.

Before palatals, unstable y is also rare; as collateral forms of EWS. *hieg*, *hay*; *lieg*, *flame*; *smiec*, *smoke*; *áfliegan*, *banish*; *biegan*, *bend*; *tiegan*, *tie*, there occur almost exclusively *hig*, *lig*, *smic*, *áfliigan*, *bigan*, *tigan*; so almost always *niht*, *miht* (98, note); but, on the other hand, beside *ciegan*, *iecan*, and *cigan*, *ican*, there are frequent instances of *cýgan*, *yean*. Instead of *micel*, *large*, there is an early occurrence of *mycel*, probably by analogy with *lytel*.

32. The etymological correspondences of short y are:

- 1) Stable y is i-umlaut of u (95);
- 2) Unstable y stands for (existing or inferrible) *ie* (97 ff.) or *io* (105; 107).

33. Long *y* appears

- 1) as stable: a) the regular i-umlaut of *ū* (96); b) *y* lengthened in consequence of ecthipsis, as in *yſt* (186. 2), *-hýdig* (214. 3);

- 2) as unstable, when a late by-form for *ie*, the i-umlaut of *ēa* and *ēo* (97 ff.).

NOTE. Among the unstable *y*'s may be reckoned the LWS. *y* in *sý*, *be*; *hý*, *they*; *ðry*, *three*; for *sie*, *hie*, *ðrie*; on the other hand, always *bī*, *big*, because no **bie* ever existed.

2. DIPHTHONGS

34. All the OE. diphthongs, *ea*, *eo*, *io*, *ie*, whether short or long, are falling diphthongs, *i.e.*, the stress is to be laid upon the former of the two sounds. The distinction of quantity is made by increasing the length of the whole diphthong in pronunciation; in other words, long *ēa* is not to be understood as *ē + a* or *e + ā*.

NOTE. In later times, as the history of English phonology shows, there is frequently a displacement of the accent, so that *ea*, *eo* become *jea*, *j eo* (212, note 2), and then *ja*, *jo*. Such a displacement in the earlier period is not, however, probable.

ea and eo

35. The difference in the pronunciation of *ea* and *eo* lies presumably less in the second part of the diphthong (the *a* and *o*) than in the initial sound. In the most ancient texts *ea* is often written *æo*, *æa* (the latter form also in later documents), while *eo* interchanges with *io* in the older manuscripts (cf. 38). It may therefore be assumed that *ea* began with an open sound, resembling *æ*, but that the first element of *eo* was a close *e*-sound.

NOTE 1. In the later texts *ea* and *æ* are frequently confounded, probably because *ea* had begun to be pronounced like the single vowel, *æ*. On *ēaw* for *æw*, cf. 112, note 2; 118, note 2.

NOTE 2. Occasionally *ie*, *ye* is found for *ēa* in the later documents: *lies*, *loose*; *bien*, *bean*; *wyel*, *serf*.

ea

36. Short *ea* is of manifold origin. It is

1) the so-called breaking of *a* before certain consonants, as in *earm*, *eall*, *eahta* (79; 80; 82); or

- 2) u-umlaut of a, as in *ealu* (103); or
- 3) has arisen from palatal + æ, as in *geaf*, *ceaf*, *sceal* (74 ff.)

37. Long ēa is

- 1) usually the representative of a Germanic *au*, as in *bēam*, *ēac* (63); or
- 2) has originated from the contraction of *a* with other vowels, as in *slēan*, *ēa* (111); or
- 3) has been developed from palatal + *æ*, as in *gēafon*, *gēar* (74 ff.); less frequently from palatal + *ā* (from Germ. *ai*), as in *gēasne*, *scēan*, *scēadan*, beside *gæsne*, *scān*, *scādan* (76).

eo, io

38. The two groups *eo* and *io* frequently occur side by side in the older documents; *io* afterwards becomes more and more infrequent, until it finally disappears. Long *ēo* represents an older *eu*, long *io* an older *iu*; similarly, short *eo* originally came from older *e*, while short *io* sprang from older *i*; yet this distinction is no longer fully carried through, even in the oldest WS. texts. We can only make the general statement that *eo* occurs quite frequently for *io* from *i*, but that *io* is less frequently found (or is Kentish) for the *eo* which springs from *e*. In the following pages *eo* and *io* will, on practical grounds, be as far as possible distinguished according to their etymological values.

NOTE 1. On *ea* and *a* for *eo*, *io* in slightly stressed syllables, see 43. 2. *a*.

NOTE 2. Late and rare is *yo*: *cȳo*, *cnȳowu* Gl. On *eu*, *iu*, in the oldest texts, see 64, note.

39. With respect to their origin, short *eo*, *io* are

1) breakings of an older *e*, *i* before certain consonants, as in *eorðe*, *liornian* (*leornian*) (79 ff.); or

2) *u*- and *o*-umlauts of the same *e*, *i*, as in *eofor*, *frioðu* (*freoðu*) (104; 105; 107); or

3) have originated from palatal + *o*, *u*, as in *geoc*, *geong* (74; 76).

40. Long *ēo* (*īo*) usually corresponds to

1) Germ. *eu*, Goth. *iu*, as in *bēodan* (64); *stīoran* (100. 2); or it arises

2) from palatal + *ō* in *gēomor* (74); or

3) from the contraction of *e*, *i* with other vowels, as in *sēon* (*sion*), *see*, *ðēon* (*ðion*), *thrive*, from **sehon*, **pihan* (cf. 113; 114).

ie

41. The diphthongs *ie* and *ie* belong to the characteristic peculiarities of Early West Saxon. At an early period their place is usurped by unstable *i*, *ī*, and at length by *y*, *ȳ*; these latter then remain characteristic of Late West Saxon (22; 31).

42. Short *ie* is

1) *i*-umlaut of *ea* and *eo*, as in *cald*—*ieldu*, *weorpan*—*wierpð* (97 ff.); or

2) a less frequent form of the *u*- and *o*-umlauts of *i*, as in *slendun*, *ðlessum* (105, note 7); or

3) it arose from palatal + *e*, as in *giefan*, *gielpa*n (74 ff.).

Long *ie*, on the other hand, is *i*-umlaut

- 1) of *ēa*, as in *hēah*–*hiehst* (99); or
- 2) of *ēo*, as in *cēosan*–*ciesō* (100.1. *b*).

NOTE. For *ie* in *gie*, *gien(a)*, *giēt(a)*, see 74, note 1; and for *eo*, *io*, as unaffected by umlaut, beside *ie*, see 100; 159. 5. In Boeth. we sometimes meet with *eo* for the *ie* which is umlaut of *ea*, or the product of diphthongization, and with *ēo* for the corresponding *ie*: *eormōa*, *eoldran*; *hēoran*, *nēotan*, *gēot*, instead of *iermōa*, *iieldran*; *hieran*, *nieten*, *giēt*.

II. THE VOWELS OF THE SLIGHTLY STRESSED AND UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES

1. STEM-VOWELS IN SLIGHTLY STRESSED WORDS

43. Under this head belong the stem-vowels of the second members of compound words, when the composition has ceased to be distinctly recognized; together with certain proclitics and enclitics, which lose their primary stress in connected discourse.

This slurring, or loss of primary stress, has frequently modified or transformed the stem-vowels of such words. The chief cases of this sort are as follows:

1) Shortening of original length, especially in the large class of compounds which end in *-lic*, such as *fullic*, *full*; *ryhtlic*, *righteous*; *woroldlic*, *worldly*, contrasted with *gelic*, *like*, where the stress is on the final syllable.

NOTE 1. The shortness of this *i* in the earliest Old English is clearly proved by the inflectional forms, such as nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut. *fullicu* (294), and by the further weakening to *e* (43. 3). The inflected forms are, however, usually regarded as long in poetry, with the exception of those which end in *-u*.

2) Change of vowel-quality; thus, in particular, there is a conversion

a) of *eo, io* to *ea*, and then to *a*; *sciptearo, ifigtearo*, and *sciptara, ifigtara*, beside *teoru, tar*; *wælhreaw, cruel*, beside the older *wælhreow*; *andwlata, countenance*, beside the older *ondwllota*;

b) of *ea* to *a*, as in the frequent *onwald*, contrasted with *gewea·ld, power*; *tōward, future*; *i·nneward, inward*; *ie·rfeward, heir* (hardly pure WS.; found in Bede), beside *tōweard*, etc. A further change to *o* occurs in such words as *twie·fold, hlāford*, etc. (51).

NOTE 2. Under a) are probably to be classed Ps. *eam*, North. *am*, *am* (427. 1), beside WS. *eom*; and Ps. *earun*, North. *aron*, for **eorun*, which does not occur.

3) Weakening of full vowels, especially to *e*:

a) Weakening of originally short vowels, occurring especially in the numerous compounds ending in *ærn*, *house*, and *-weard, -ward*, such as *hordern, treasury*; *berern* (still further shortened to *beren, bern*), *barn* (from **beræærn*); *bēodern, refectory*; *andwerd, present*; *tōwerd, future*; *forðwerd, forward*, etc.

b) Weakening of originally long vowels is frequent, even in the older texts, such as the *Cura Pastoralis*, in those inflected forms of compounds ending in *-lic* (43. 1) which contain a guttural vowel, particularly *a* or *o*, in the inflectional ending, such as *misleca, mislecan, mislecum*, comp. *mislecor*, sup. *mislecost*. Occasionally in late texts these forms occur with *u*, as in *nēodlucor, atelucost*.

NOTE 3. Forms like *hordern* are of early occurrence; those in *-werd*, on the other hand, are later, the older language employing either the full form *-weard*, or else *-ward, -word* (43. 2. b; 51).

NOTE 4. Changes of a very radical nature are exhibited by the final syllables of a number of compounds, which ceased to be felt as such at an early period. Thus, for example, *frēols*, *freedom*; *hlāford*, *lord*, for **frī-hals*, **hlāf-weard*; similarly, *sulung*, *swulung*, and *furlong*, *measures of land*, for **sulh-lang*, **furh-lang*. Long *ā*, from Germ. *ai*, formerly stood in the final syllables of *ēorod*, *troop*, from **eoh-rād*; *bēot*, *boasting*, from *bi-hāt*; *eofot*, *-ut*, *debt*, from *ef-hāt* (compare *ebhāt* Ep. Erf. = *eobot* Corp.); *eofolsian*, *blaspheme* (North. *ebalsia*, *ebolsia*, *eofolsia*), from **ef-hālsian*; *ōret*, *battle* (beside *ōretta*, *warrior*, *ōrettan*, *fight*), from **or-hāt*; *ōnettan*, *incite*, from **on-hātjan*; *fullest* beside *fylst*, *aid*, from which *fullestān* (once *fullæstan*, Beow.) and *fylstan*, *assist*, from **ful-lāst* (OHG. *folleist*). Germ. *æ*, Prim. OE. *æ* or *ā*, in *hīered*, *family*, Anglian *hīorod*, from **hīw-rād*; in *āwer*, *nāwer*, etc., *anywhere*, *nowhere*, from (n)*ā-hwær*; and in *geatwe*, *equipment*; *frætwe*, *adornment*, beside *getāwe*. OE. *y*, the umlaut of *ū*, in *æfest*, *æfst*, *envy*, *zeal* (Ps. *efest*, North. *æfest*, *æfist*), from **æf-ȳst*, and *ofost*, *ofst*, *zeal* (Ep. Corp. *obst*, Erf. *obust*, North. *œfest*, *œfist*), from **of-ȳst* (compare *efstan*, *hasten*, Ps. *œfest(i)an*, North. *œfistia*). Originally long *ī* is lost in the pronouns *hwelc*, *swelc*, *ælc*, *ilca* (339; 342; 347); compare Goth. *hwilelks*, *swalelks*. Long *ō* is shortened in *oroð*, *oruð*, later *orð*, *breath* (compare *oreðian*, *orðian*, *breathe*), from **or-ōð* for **uz-anþ-* (186); long *ū* in *fracoð*, *infamous*, from **fra-cūð* (compare *unforcūð*). From *ēa* sprang the *u* of *fultum*, *aid*, *fultumian*, *assist* (*fultēam* is historical OE. in Erf., and *fulteman* is frequent in the earlier texts); from *ēo* the *u*, *o* of North. *lātuw*, *lāruw*, *-ow*, Ps. *lādtow* = WS. *lattēow*, *lārēow* (250, note 4), from *lād-ðēow*, **lār-ðēow*, and, according to Kluge, the *o* of *wīobud*, *wēofod*, *altar*, Ps. *wībed*, North. *wīged* (222, note 1), from **wīh-bēod* (others say from **wīh-bed*). On this point compare Sweet, in *Anglia* 3. 151 ff., and Kluge, in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 26. 72 ff., Beitr. 8. 527 ff.

2. VOWELS OF DERIVATIVE AND FINAL SYLLABLES

44. The number of vowels occurring in these positions is in part limited by the notable absence of long vowels (9), in part by the non-occurrence of diphthongs. The number is thus reduced to the six following: *a*, *æ*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*; of these *æ* and *i* are, with the exception of derivative syllables like *-ig*, *-ihtē*, *-isc*, *-nis*, confined to the older documents, and are afterwards uniformly replaced by *e*. Concerning occasional fluctuations of the vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, detailed information will be given in the paragraphs which treat of inflection; here it is sufficient to say that *u* is for the most part older than *o*, while the latter is older than *a*.

NOTE 1. Under the head of inflections, it will be important to note the difference between the *e* which sprang from *æ* and that which sprang from *i*, as indicated by forms like the following: *ārae*, gen. dat. acc. sing., and nom. acc. plur. fem. (252); *tungae*, nom. sing. fem. (276); *gōdnae*, acc. sing. masc. (293); *saldæ*, pret. 1 and 3 sing. (354); *dōmae*, dat. sing. masc. (238); *gōdae*, nom. plur. masc. (293); *gilbaen*, past part. (366); *restaendi*, pres. part. (363); *dōmaes*, gen. sing. (238); *suilcae*, adv. (315). On the other hand, *meri*, *rygi*, nom. acc. sing. masc. (262); *rīci*, do. (246); *nimis*, *-id*, ind. 2 and 3 sing. (357; 358); *neridae*, weak pref. (401), *-id*, past part. (402), etc.

NOTE 2. In later manuscripts the obscure *e* of an unstressed syllable is not infrequently replaced by *y*: *hælynd*, *fædyr*, *belocyn*, *wintrys*, *bityr*, for *hælend*, *fæder*, *belocen*, *wintres*, *biter*, etc.

THE RELATION OF THE OLD ENGLISH VOWEL-SYSTEM TO THAT OF THE COGNATE LANGUAGES

A. THE GERMANIC AND THE WEST GERMANIC VOWEL-SYSTEM

45. The vowel-system of OE. is a modification of a general vowel-system, lying at the basis of the corresponding systems of all the Germanic tongues. This general system, while it is not accurately preserved in any one of the Germanic dialects, may yet be reconstructed with certainty by the method of comparison.

The Primitive Germanic system was composed of the following sounds :

Short vowels . . .	a	e, i ²	i ¹	[o ²]	o ¹ , u
Long vowels . . .	[ā], æ	ē	ī	ō	ū
Diphthongs . . .	{ ai	—			
	au	eu			

To this table the following observations apply :

1) The distinction between i² and i¹ rests upon purely etymological grounds, the i which was already current in the Indo-European Parent Speech (original or primary i) being represented by i¹, while the i which was developed in Germanic from an older e (Germanic or secondary i) is here designated as i² (see paragraph 2 below). There may also at one time have been a difference in pronunciation.

2) e and i² are equal in etymological value. This will be evident when we consider that the e of the

Indo-European Parent Speech was regularly changed to Germanic **i** *a)* when it was immediately followed by a nasal + consonant, *b)* when the next syllable contained an **i** or **j**. This distinction has been more or less faithfully preserved in all the various Germanic languages, with the exception of the Gothic (which has transformed every **e** into **i**). Upon *a)* repose such distinctions as that between OE. OS. **helpan**, *help*, and **bindan**, *bind*; OHG. **helfan**, **bintan** (where Gothic has leveled the two, **hilpan**, **bindan**); upon *b)* such as OE. **helpan** inf., and **hilpō** ind. pres. 3 sing.; OS. **helpan** and **hilpid**; OHG. **helfan** and **hilfit**.

NOTE 1. This rule applies only to the **e** of stressed syllables; in unstressed syllables the **e** seems to have passed uniformly into **i**.

3) In like manner, **o**¹ and **u** are of equal value, *i.e.*, the **o**¹ results from a modification of older **u**. This modification took place when the following syllable contained an **a** (= **o**², see paragraph 4 below) and the **u** was not protected *a)* by a nasal + consonant, or *b)* by an interposed **i**, **j**. Thus, for example, we have OHG. **gibuntan**, OS. **gibundan**, OE. **gebunden**, *bound*; but OHG. **giholfan**, OS. **giholpan**, OE. **geholpen**, *holpen*, according to *a)*; but, according to *b)*, OS. **huggian**, OHG. **hucken**, OE. (with **i**-umlaut, 95) **hycgan**, not ***hoggian**, etc. Here, again, the Gothic uniformly has **u**: **bundans**, **hulpans**, **hugjan**.

4) By [**o**²] we have probably to understand an open **o**-sound, corresponding to an **o** of the cognate languages outside the Germanic system, and, indeed, originally existent in Germanic itself. So far as we are able to

see, this sound must already have been converted into **a**, at least in all stressed syllables, as far back as the Primitive Germanic period (compare Gothic **ahtau**, OHG. OS. **ahto**, OE. **eahta** (82), with Gr. **ὀκτώ**, Lat. **octo**, etc.); that this **o** was still found in unstressed syllables as late as Primitive OE., as some assume, is extremely improbable.

NOTE 2. There was certainly a Prim. OE. (open) **o**-sound in all endings in which it was still followed by a nasal, as, for example, in infinitives like **bindan**, and plurals like **bindað** from ***bindanþ**; this is plain from the effects upon the vowels of preceding syllable (**o/a**-umlaut; cf. 106 ff.). However, this **o** may very well have been a secondary development from **a** (65). On the other hand, it is doubtful whether contractions like those discussed in 114 oblige us to assume that in other unstressed syllables the original **o**² was preserved.

5) Original **ā** no longer existed in Germanic, since Indo-European **ā** had already become **ō** (compare Lat. **frāter** with Gothic **brōþar**, OE. **brōðor**, OS. **brōðar**, OHG. **bröder**, **bruoder**, etc.). Certain secondary **ā**'s have, however, resulted from lengthening when accompanied by the loss of a nasal before **h**: thus Gothic **pāhta**, OS. **thāhta**, OHG. **dāhta**, *thought*, for ***panhta**, from Goth. **pagkjan**, etc.; compare the examples in 67. But as this **ā** is constantly represented in OE. by **ō**, and the substitution of **o** for **a** in OE. is always conditioned by the proximity of a nasal, we are obliged to conclude that these **ā**'s must have been nasalized as late as the Germanic period.

NOTE 3. That the vowels of Germanic **ih**, **ūh** (cf. 186), which have sprung in a similar way from **īh**, **uūh**, must also have possessed nasal quality, may indeed be presumed, but is not susceptible of direct proof.

6) By *æ* and *ē* are represented the two sounds which are indeed uniformly leveled in Gothic (as well as Kentish and Northumbrian) under *ē*, but are distinguished in ON. OS. as *ā* and *ē*, in OHG. as *ā* and *ē* (*ea*, *ia*), in WS. as *æ* and *ē*; compare, for example, Goth. *mēl*, *time*; *hēr*, *here*, with ON. OS. OHG. *māl*, WS. *mæ**l*, and ON. OS. WS. *hēr*, OHG. *hēr*, *hear*, *hiar*, etc. (Kent. Angl. *mēl*, *hēr*, 150. 1).

7) Parallel with *eu* there was once a diphthong *ei*; but the latter, passing through the intermediate stage of *ii* (45. 2. *b*) into *i* as early as the Germanic period, coincided at length with pre-Germanic *i*.

8) The combinations *i* + vowel and *j* + vowel interchanged with each other in such a manner that the former occurred after long radical syllables, and the latter after short radical syllables (no rule can be given for the position after syllables of derivation); thus, for example, the stem *rikia-*, *rich*, but *badja-*, *bed*. In a similar manner the Indo-European *ej* + vowel has been split into *i* + vowel and *j* + vowel: for example, in present stems like **dōmia-*, **nazja-* (from **dōmejo-*, **nazejo-*), in Goth. *dōmjan*, *nasjan*, 2 pers. *dōmeis*, from **dōmils*; but *nasjis*.

46. Midway between the Germanic and the OE. system lies the vowel-scheme of the West Germanic, and hence it is the latter which must be taken as the nearest point of departure in the comparisons which we are called upon to make. The latter, however, agrees with the Germanic system in every essential particular, except that the Germanic *æ* (45. 6) always, or at least in certain cases, underwent change to *ā* (Beitr. 8. 88), and *eu*

developed into *iu* before a following *i* or *j* (45.3. *b*; 45.7): thus, **beudan*, *offer*; *steurō*, *helm*; but 2 sing. **biudis*, *thou offerest*; **stiurjan*, *steer*, etc.

B. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WEST GERMANIC VOWELS IN WEST SAXON

47. The transformations which the Germanic vowels have undergone in OE. are essentially of a twofold character. The mutation of the vowel either takes place independently of its environment, or the latter exercises a determining influence upon it. Of the first kind is, for example, the change of Germ. *ai* to *ā*, as in *hātan*, *be called*, compared with Goth. *haitan*; or that of Germ. *au* to *ēa*, as in *lēan*, *reward*, compared with Goth. *laun*. Of the second kind are phenomena like the various umlauts and breakings, modifications of vowels by nasals, palatals, etc.

In the following survey we shall include all the changes which each Germanic vowel undergoes in OE., considering in detail only such changes as take place independently of the environment, and reserving for a separate subdivision our remarks upon the influences of neighboring sounds.

48. Besides this distinction, it must also be observed that the development of vowels in stressed or stem-syllables is, in many respects, different from that which they undergo in the more weakly stressed medial and final syllables. On this account the vowels of these latter syllables are again treated under a separate head.

I. THE VOWELS OF THE STEM

1. GENERAL SURVEY OF THE CORRESPONDENCES

a

49. In an originally closed syllable, wherever special circumstances do not prevent, short **a** is regularly converted into **æ**: **dæg**, *day*; **bræc**, *broke*; **sæt**, *sat*; **wæs**, *was*; **hæft**, *captive*; compare Goth. **dags**, **brak**, **sat**, etc. The **æ** occurs also when the syllable, though originally closed, becomes open in OE. through a secondary phonetic development, as in **nægl**, *nail*, **hræfn**, *raven* (with syllabic **l**, **n**), or in consequence of the development of a secondary **e**: **æcer**, *acre*; **fæger**, *fair*; **mægen**, *power*; compare Goth. **akrs**, **fagrs**, etc., from the stems **akra-**, **fagra-**, **magna-**.

NOTE 1. To the exceptions noted in **10** there must be added the enclitic **ac**, **ah**, *but*, and **was**, **nas**, *was*, *was not*, beside the regular **wæs**, **næs**. The second member of compounds also frequently retains **a**, as in **herepað**, *military road*, **sīðfat**, *journey*, etc.

NOTE 2. By analogy with polysyllabic inflectional forms with regular **a**, the imperative of strong verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class generally retains **a**: **far**, **sac**, **scaf**, etc. (**368**, note 2).

50. In an originally open syllable the Germ. **a** appears sometimes as **a**, sometimes as **æ**:

1) **a** regularly occurs when the following syllable contains one of the guttural vowels, **a**, **o**, **u**. Thus **dæg** has nom. plur. **dagas**, gen. **daga**, dat. **dagum**; **fæt**, nom. acc. plur. **fatu**, gen. **fata**, dat. **fatum**; while of **hwæt** the dat. sing. masc. neut. is **hwatum**, the weak nom. sing. masc. **hwata**. Compare the inflections of the verb

in cases like *faran* (392), 2 and 3 sing. *færest*, *færeð*, plur. *farað*, etc., and words like *atol*, *terrible*; *nacod*, *naked*; *sadol*, *saddle*, etc. (but see also 103).

NOTE 1. A similar effect to that of the *a*, *o*, *u* of final syllables is produced: 1) by the *i* in the Second Class of weak verbs, since it sprang from an original *o*; hence we have *macian*, *make*; *laðian*, *invite* (cf. 411, note 2), the pres. 3 sing. *macað*, *laðað*, the preterits *macode*, *laðode*, etc.; 2) by the *e* of many medial syllables, in cases where it has been weakened from an originally guttural vowel, and is or has been followed by a guttural vowel; compare, for example, words like *staðellian*, *establish* (from *staðol*); *hacele*, *cloak*; *adela*, *filth*; *hafela* (beside *hafola*), *head*; *gaderian* (poet. also *gæderian*), *gather*; *gedafenian*, *beseem*; *hafenian*, *grasp*; *fag(e)nian*, *rejoice*; *war(e)nian*, *take heed*; *adesa*, *adz* (cf. also 129).

NOTE 2. On the other hand, *a* passes into *æ* in a number of words, in which the originally guttural vowel of the medial syllable (*u*, more rarely *a*) is or has been followed by *i* (Kluge): *gædeling*, *kinsman* (OS. *gaduling*); *æðeling*, *noble*, from **apuling* (ON. *øðlingr*); *lætimest*, *last*, from **latumist* (cf. 314); *tō-gædere*, *together*, from **gadurī* (beside *gaderian*, from **gadurōjan*, note 1); *Sæterndæg*, *Saturday*, from *Saturni dies*; *æx*, *ax*, for *æces* Ps. (but North. *acas*), from **acusi* (compare Goth. *aqizi* and OHG. *achus*); probably *hæleð*, *hero* (originally a plural **haluþiz*, compare ON. *hǫlðr*, and 133. b; 281. 1); and perhaps *hælfte*, *halter*, from **haluþtrī*, and *hærfest*, *harvest*, from **harubist* (compare Ep. *helustr*, *hiding-place*, later *heolstor*); finally, *æðele*, adj., *noble*, from **apall* (OS. *adall*); *mægden*, *maiden*, from **magadīn* (OHG. *magatīn*). Exceptions to this rule are the infinitive and present participle of strong verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class, such as *farenne*, from **farannjai*, -*ǫnnjai*; and *farende*, from **farandi*, **farōndi*.

NOTE 3. The conversion of *a* to *æ* in the words cited in note 2 took place later than in the other cases (49; 50. 2). It evidently occurred subsequently to the palatalization of initial gutturals (206. 1), for only on this supposition is it possible to account for the absence of diphthongization in *gædeling*, -*gædere* (75, note 1). Possibly the whole phenomenon should be regarded as a kind of umlaut (89. 3; 100, note 4).

2) Before original *e* (*æ* of the oldest texts, 44, note 1), that is, one not weakened from *a*, *o*, *u*, there seems to be a rule requiring *æ*: *dæg*, *day*, *fæt*, *vat*; gen. *dæg**e**s*, *fæt**e**s*; .dat. *dæge*, *fæte*, etc. (240). Yet there exists much discrepancy: adjectives like *hwæt* have, for example, gen. *hwates*, instr. *hwate*, nom. acc. plur. *hwate* (294); feminines like *sacu*, with gen. dat. acc. *sæce* and *sace* (253). There is a similar variation in the past participles of strong verbs, like *hlæden* and *hladen*, *græfen* and *grafen*, *slægen* and *slagen*, from *hladan*, *lade*; *grafan*, *grave*; *slēan*, *strike* (392); while the present optative of these verbs regularly has *a*: *fare*, *grafe*, etc.

NOTE 4. Primitive OE. *a* likewise became *æ* before original *i*, *j*, and this *æ* was afterward still further affected by *i*-umlaut (88 ff.).

NOTE 5. In words borrowed from Latin the *a* of an open syllable is frequently lengthened: *sācerd*, *priest*; *cālend*, *calends*; *māgister*, *master*; so probably also *pālendse*, *palace*; *tālent*, *talent*, etc.

51. Older *a* passes into *o* (not *ɔ*) in the proclitic prepositions *of*, *of*; *on*, *on*; *ot*, *at*, contrasting with the stressed adverbs *æf*-, *ɔn* (*an*), *æt*. Occasionally, too, this change occurs in the unstressed second member of compounds, especially when the vowel is preceded by a labial: *twiefold*, *twofold*; *Grīmbold*: *Ōswold*; *ɔndsworu*, *answer*; *hlāford*, *lord* (for **hlāfword*; thus in Ps. *tōword*, *future*; *ɛrfeword*, *heir*); likewise *hærepoð*, beside *-pað* (49, note 1).

NOTE. In WS., *ot* has been almost entirely supplanted by *æt*; there is, besides, an extremely rare (mostly Kentish?) form, *at*. In some texts, unstressed *on* tends toward *an*; for this and certain similar phenomena, see 65, note 2.

52. The changes undergone by original **a** in cases not included under the foregoing are as follows:

1) before nasals it becomes **o** (64); the **i**-umlaut of the latter is **e** (89.4); in consequence of the loss of the nasal before a surd spirant, **o** becomes **ō** (66); the **i**-umlaut of the latter is **ē** (**œ**) (94);

2) it undergoes breaking to **ea** before **r**- and **l**-combinations, and before **h** (79 ff.); the **i**-umlaut of this **ea** is **ie**, **i**, **y** (97; 98);

3) it is changed to **ea** through the influence of a preceding palatal (74 ff.); and in this case also the **i**-umlaut is **ie**, **i**, **y** (97; 98);

4) it undergoes **u**-umlaut to **ea** (103);

5) it becomes **ēa** by contraction with a following **u** (111);

6) **i**-umlaut changes it to **e** (89) in all cases not included under heads 1-5.

e

53. West Germanic **e** often remains unchanged: **helan**, *conceal*; **beran**, *bear*; **helm**, *helmet*; **helpan**, *help*; **wefan**, *weave*; **sprecan**, *speak*; **cweðan**, *say*; compare OS. OHG. **helan**, **beran**, **helm**, etc.

The occurrence of the older **e** is limited

1) by its passage into **i** before nasals (69);

2) by the breaking to **eo** before **r**- and **l**-combinations and before **h** (79 ff.); the **i**-umlaut of this **eo** is then **ie**, **i**, **y** (100);

3) by **u**-umlaut to **eo** (104);

4) by the change to **ie** after palatals (74 ff.);

5) by lengthening to ē, accompanied by ecclipsis (214. 3);

6) by contraction with guttural vowels, producing ēo, io (113);

7) by the change of weo into wo and wu (72).

i

54. West Germanic **i** often remains :

a) standing for Indo-European **i**, as in **bite**, *bite*; **wlite**, *face*; **witan**, *know*, pret. **wisse**; and in the 2 sing. and the whole plur. ind., as well as in the opt. pret. of the strong verbs of the First Ablaut-Class, like **stige**, plur. **stigun**; opt. **stige**, plur. **stigen** (382);

b) as Germ. **i** from **e** :

a) before nasal + consonant, as in the verbs **bindan**, *bind*, etc. (386); **blind**, *blind*, etc.;

β) often before the **i**, **j** which originally followed in the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. of strong verbs of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Ablaut-Classes, like **hilpō**, *bireō*, *iteō*; likewise in **biddan**, *request*; **sittan**, *sit*; **licgan**, *lie*; **ŋicgan**, *take* (391. 3), and in many other words.

The occurrence of the **i** is limited

1) by the breaking to **io** (**eo**, **ie**, **y**) before **r**- and **l**-combinations, and before **h** (79 ff.); the **i**-umlaut of these sounds is **ie** (**i**, **y**) (100);

2) by **u**- and **o/a**-umlaut to **io** (**eo**, **ie**, **y**) (105; 107. 3 ff.);

3) by the change of **wio** to **wu** (71);

4) by lengthening to *ī*, accompanied by ecthipsis (186; 214.3);

5) by contraction with guttural vowels (114).

NOTE. Latin *i* is converted into *e* in the borrowed word *peru*, *pear*, and Latin *ī* to the same in *segn*, from *signum*.

o

55. As a rule, West Germanic *o* is retained : *boda*, messenger ; *God*, *God* ; *gold*, *gold* ; *oxa*, *ox* ; *word*, *word*. It is very common in the past part. of strong verbs of the Second, Third, and Fourth Ablaut-Classes (384 ff.).

In certain words, especially in the vicinity of labials, *u* is found instead of the *o* which might have been expected ; thus, for example, in *full*, *full* ; *wulf*, *wolf* ; *wulle*, *wool* ; *fugol*, *fowl* ; *bucca*, *buck* ; *cnucian*, *knock* ; *ufan*, *above* ; *ufor*, *higher* ; *ufera*, *the upper* ; *lufu*, *lufian*, *love* ; *spura* (beside *spora*), *spur* ; *spurnan* (beside *sporn-an*), *spurn* ; *murnan*, *mourn* ; *murnian*, *murmur* ; *furðor*, *further* ; *furðum*, *indeed*.

Moreover, the domain of the West Germanic *o* is regularly contracted

1) by its passage into *u* before nasals (70); the *i*-umlaut of this *u* is *y* (95);

2) by *i*-umlaut to (œ), *ę* (93).

NOTE. For *ð*, *ō* in *broden* for *brogden*, see 214.3, note 8. Latin *ō* is lengthened in *scōl*, from *schōla*.

u

56. West Germ. *u* often occurs unchanged : *burg*, town ; *lust*, pleasure ; *sunu*, son ; *hund*, dog, etc. ; very

often in the preterits of strong verbs of the Second and Third Ablaut-Classes (364 ff.), etc. It passes into *o* in *or-* (Goth. *us-*, OHG. *ur-*), as in *orsorg*, *careless*; *orðqnc*, *cleverness*.

NOTE 1. The WS. Kent. *þurh*, *through*, is replaced in Mercian (Ps.) by *þorh*, and in North. by *þerh*. The negative prefix *un-* sometimes becomes *on-* in late MSS., and occasionally *un-* is substituted for *on-*, as in *unbindan* for *onbindan*, *loose*.

NOTE 2. Latin *u* becomes *o* in *copor*, *copper*; *box*, *box*.

Other restrictions of the *u* are :

- 1) the *i*-umlaut to *y* (95);
- 2) the lengthening to *ū*, accompanied by ecthipsis (186; 214. 3, note 8); the *i*-umlaut of the latter is *ȳ* (96);
- 3) its conversion into *io*, *eo* after palatals (74); the *i*-umlaut of the latter is *ie* (*i*, *y*) (100).

ā

57. West Germ. *ā* is of threefold origin:

1) Older *ā*, only in foreign words, as in the Lat. *strāta*, *nāpus*, *turnip*, becomes *æ* in WS.: *stræt*, *næp* (Ep. *næp*, Corp. *nēp*).

NOTE 1. Of doubtful origin is the *ā* of *gān*, *go*, which unaccountably remains unchanged before nasals (68).

2) West Germ. *ā*, from Germ. *æ*, Goth. *ē* (45. 6), regularly becomes *æ* in WS.: *ræd*, *counsel*; *rædan*, *advise*; *slæpan*, *sleep*; *swæs*, *own*; *æðm*, *breath*; *æfen*, *evening*; and very often in the pret. plur. of the strong verbs of the Fourth and Fifth Ablaut-Classes (390; 391).

NOTE 2. The vowel of the final syllable is probably short (43, note 4) in *hī(e)red* (Angl. *hiorod*, OHG. *hīrāt*), *family*; *dægred*

(OHG. *tagarōd*), *dawn*, and the adverbs (n)āwer, (n)ower (from āhwār, ōhwār, 321, note 2). On the other hand, proper names ending in -rēd, like *Ælfrēd*, seem to have long ē; compare also feminine names in -flēd, beside -flæd, like *Ēanflēd*, -flæd. Accordingly, some scholars are of opinion that West Germ. æ in slurred or unstressed syllables regularly becomes ē, and hence write *hīrēd*, *dægrēd*, *āwēr*, etc. For the normal æ in stressed syllables we occasionally find ē, but not in genuine WS. texts: *rēdan*, *slēpan*, etc.

The i-umlaut of this æ is identical with it (91). On the other hand, the occurrence of the æ is subject to the following limitations:

a) ā is retained before w in *sāwe*, ind. 2 sing., *sāwon*, ind. plur., *sāwe*, *sāwen*, subj. pret. of *sēon*, see (Goth. *sēhwum*, etc.; OS. *sāwi*, *sāwun*, etc.); *getāwe*, *equipment*; *tāwian*, *prepare* (compare Goth. *tēwa*, *order*; probably also *getāwe*, *tāwian*); and in the foreign word *pāwa*, *peacock*. On the other hand, ā seems to stand for ai in the verbs *blāwan*, *sāwan*, etc. (62), and perhaps in a few others.

NOTE 3. Elsewhere WS. ā occurs in an open syllable followed by a guttural vowel: in the preterits *lāgon*, *ṭāgon*, *wāgon* (beside *lægon*, *ṭægon*, *wægon*), from *lleg(e)an*, *ṭleg(e)an*, *wegan*; the plur. *māgas* (beside *mægas*), and the fem. *māge* (beside *mæge*), from *mæg*, *kinsman*; in *hrāca*, *spittle*; in the verb *slāpan*, *sleep*, and its derivatives (beside *slæpan*); and in the words *swār* (beside *swær*), *heavy*; *trāg*, *lazy*, *tāl* (beside *tæł*), *calumny*; *lācnian*, *heal* (beside *læcnian*, from *læce*, *physician*, with i-umlaut); *ācumba* (rarely *æcumba*), *oakum*. To these must be added numerous compounds beginning with æ, and perhaps certain other cases (Kluge, in *Anglia*, *Anzeiger* 5. 82).

The i-umlaut of this ā is regularly æ: *lāewan*, *betray* (Goth. *lēwjan*); *æltæwe*, *complete* (compare Goth. *tēwa*).

b) Before nasals West Germ. ā is converted into ǫ (68); the i-umlaut of the latter is œ, ē (94).

THE VOWELS

- c) After a preceding palatal it becomes *ēa* (74 ; 76.2).
 d) Instead of *æ* there occurs an *ēa* in *nēah*, *nigh* (Goth. *nēhw*); here the *ēa* is probably breaking (82).
 3) Nasalized Germ. *ā* from an (45.5) becomes *ō* (67); the i-umlaut of the latter is *œ*, *ē* (94).

ē

58. West Germ. *ē* maintains itself in WS. unaltered : *hēr*, *here* ; *cēn*, *torch* ; *mēd*, *meed* ; *lēf*, *feeble* ; *Weland*. Here belong also the *ē*'s of the reduplicated preterits like *hēt*, *slēp* (395. A).

NOTE 1. To the OHG. adj. *zēri*, *ziari*, corresponds OE. *tīr*, *glory* (OS. *tīr*, ON. *tīrr*) ; to the OHG. *wīara* the OS. *wīr*, *wire*. For *Crēcas*, *Greeks*, there appears also *Crēacas*, the form of which has not yet been accounted for.

NOTE 2. The close *ē* of Latin appears in early loan-words as *i* : *side*, *silk* ; *cīpe*, *onion* ; *pīn*, *pain* ; or shortened to *i* : *sicor*, *certain* ; *dīnor*, *denarius*. In late loan-words we have *ē*, sometimes shortened to *e* : *crēda*, *creed* ; *bēte*, *beet* ; *fēnix*, *phoenix*, etc.

59. Older *ī* occurs almost invariably in EWS. *io*, *hwil*, *while* ; *mīn*, *mine* ; *īn*, *thine* ; *sīn*, *his* ; *rice*, *kingdom* ; compare also the strong verbs Ablaut-Class (382).

The *ī* is only restricted in its occurrence with a following vowel (114), as well as with sional shortening and breaking (84).

ō

60. West Germ. *ō* generally remains : *bōc*, *book* ; *gōd*, *good* ; *fōr*, *journeyed* ; *slōg*, *struck*, etc. Its i-umlaut is *œ*, *ē* (94).

NOTE. Final *wō* appears as *ū* in *hū*, *how*; *tū*, *two* (324. 2), as does simple *ō* in *bū*, *both*; *cū*, *cow*, contrasted with *tō*, *to*.

ū

61. West Germ. *ū* is regularly represented by WS. *ū*: *hūs*, *house*; *tūn*, *town*; *brūcan*, *use*; *lūcan*, *lock*; even where the Gothic has *au* before a following vowel: *būan*, *build*; *trūwian*, *trust* (Goth. *bauan*, *trauan*).

The *i*-umlaut of *ū* is stable *ȳ* (96).

ai

62. West Germ. *ai* becomes *ā*: *āð*, *oath*; *stān*, *stone*; *hāt*, *hot*; *sār*, *wound*; *hātan*, *be called*; *wāt*, *wot*; the pret. 1 and 3 sing. of the verbs of the First Ablaut-Class, as *stāg* (382), etc.

The *i*-umlaut of this *ā* is *æ* (90).

haps in a few individual exceptions are: *ō*, *always*, *ever*, together with

NOTE 3.

a guttural

lāgon, *ðæg*

māgas (besi

māg, *kinsma*

derivatives (b

heavy; *trāg*

lācnian, *fr*

æcumb

as (*ōwlht*, *ōwðer*, etc., 346 ff.), for and beside *ā* (Goth. *o*); and *wēa*, *harm* (OHG. *wēwo*?). With these excep-

passes regularly into *ā(w)*: *snāw*, *snow*; *slāw*, *slow*; compare also the verbs *blāwan*, *cnāwan*, *māwan*,

an (396. 2. c), where the Goth. has *sai(j)an*, *walan*

Wholly isolated is *sōrig* for *sārig*, Cura Past. 227.

under).

au

63. The regular equivalent of West Germ. *au* is WS. *ēa*: *ēac*, *eke*; *ēaca*, *increase*; *bēag*, *ring*; *hēafod*, *head*; *gelēafa*, *belief*, etc.; the pret. 1 and 3 sing. of the verbs of the Second Ablaut-Class, like *cēas* (384; 385); even before following *w* (where the Goth. has *ggw*, and the ON. *gg(v)*): *glēaw*, *wise*; *hēawan*, *hew*;

hnēaw, *stingy* (compare Goth. *glaggwus*, ON. *hoggva*, *hnoggr*).

The i-umlaut of ēa is ie (ī, ŷ) (99); its palatal umlaut is LWS. ē (108. 2; 109).

eu

64. West Germ. eu occurs regularly as ēo : bēod, *table*; dēop, *deep*; dēor, *animal*; ðēod, *people*; lēof, *dear*; sēoc, *sick*; in the present forms of verbs of the Second Ablaut-Class, like cēosan, etc. (384); even before w (where the Goth. has iggw, ON. ygg(v)): hrēowan, *rue*, trēow, *faith* (ON. hryggva, tryggr, *faithful*, etc.). Only exceptionally is it replaced by io (38).

NOTE. Only the oldest documents occasionally preserve the diphthong eu : stēupfæder, trēulēnis, etc. The tendency to change eu to eo extends even to foreign words : Dēosdedīt, Lēowðerius, for Deusedīt, Leutherius.

The i-umlaut of Germ. eu, or of the resultant West Germ. iu (46), is ie (ī, ŷ), or, in special cases, EWS. īo, later ēo (100. 2).

2. SURVEY OF THE EFFECTS PRODUCED UPON STRESSED VOWELS BY ADJOINING SOUNDS

a) INFLUENCE OF NASALS

65. Germanic a before nasals undergoes change to open ɔ in a prehistoric period of OE. (25. 2). As the alphabet has but two characters, a, o, to represent the three sounds a, ɔ, o, there is considerable fluctuation in the sign for ɔ. The very oldest texts, like the Epinal

Glossary, uniformly employ the **a** : **mann**, *man* ; **brand**, *brand* ; **land**, *land* ; **hand**, *hand* ; **nama**, *name* ; **camb**, *comb* ; **gangan**, *go*. In the 9th century **o** has gained the upper hand : **mōn**, **brōnd**, **lōnd**, **hōnd**, **nōma**, **lōmb**, **gōngan** (so without exception in the Ps. and North. ; but cf. 386, note 3). From this time on the **a** increases in frequency, and finally succeeds in supplanting the **o**.

NOTE 1. This change to **o** is older than the metathesis of **r** (179) ; this accounts for the preterits **ōrn**, **bōrn**, from ***rōnn**, ***brōnn** (389).

NOTE 2. Peculiar are the accusatives **ðone**, *the* ; **hwone**, *whom* ; the instrumentals **ðon**, **hwon** (337 ; 341) ; the adverbs **ðonne**, *then*, **hwonne**, *when*. These have uniformly **o**, which must probably be regarded as close **o**. So, too, the preposition **on** (not the stressed adverb, which conforms to the general rule) only now and then appears as **an**, most frequently in compound words. Only occasionally do the most ancient texts have **ðanne**, but in LWS. **þanne** and **hwæne** are very common. So **ðane**, **hwane**, and **ðæne**, **hwæne**, occur very frequently for **ðone**, **hwone** ; they are perhaps formed by analogy with the datives **ðām**, **hwām**, and **ðæm**, **hwæm**, and on that account to be written with **ā**, **æ** (for Kentish cf. 51). In LWS. **mænig** (**mēnig**) regularly takes the place of the older **mōnig**, **manig**, *many*.

66. When a following nasal is lost before a surd spirant, this **o** is regularly lengthened to **ō** (186) : **gōs**, *goose* ; **hōs**, *band* ; **ōs-**, *god* ; **sōð**, *true* ; **tōð**, *tooth* ; **ōðer**, *other* ; **sōfte**, *softly* ; these stand for ***gōns**, ***hōns**, etc. (compare Goth. **hansa**, **anþar**, OHG. **gans**, **sanfto**, etc.).

67. In like manner, OE. **ō** corresponds to the Germanic nasalized **ā** from **aŋ** (45. 5) in Goth. **fāhan**, *seize* ; **hāhan**, *hang* ; **brāhta**, *brought* ; **pāhta**, *thought* ; **pāhō**, *clay* ; **-wāhs**, *blameworthy* ; OHG. **āhta**, *persecution* ; **zāhi**, *tough* : OE. **fōn**, **hōn**, **brōhte**, **ðōhte**, **ðō** (Epinal **thōhæ**), **wōh**, **ōht**, **tōh**.

68. Similarly West Germ. *ā* from Germ. *ǣ* (45. 6; 46), is changed before nasals into *ō*. Thus to Goth. *mēna*, *moon*, *mēnōps*, *month*, *nēmum*, *they took*, *qēmum*, *they came*, correspond *mōna*, *mōnað*, *nōmun*, *cwōmun*. To the same source must be referred the *ō* in *sōna*, *soon*; *spōn*, *sliver*; *gedōn*, *done*; *brōm*, *broom*; *wōm*, *wōma*, *uproar*; *ōm*, *rust*; *gēomor*, *sad* (74).

NOTE 1. Beside older *sōm-*, *half* (compare Gr. *ἥμι*), as in *sōmcucu*, *half alive*, etc., occurs regularly in LWS. *sām-* (pointing perhaps to shortening). So, too, we have always the forms *benāman*, *deprive*; *nīed-*, *nīdnāme*, *rapacious*. Perhaps diphthongal by-forms with *ai* may underlie these. On the other hand, the specifically LWS. form *nāmon*, for *nōmon*, must be regarded as a new formation (390, note 2).

NOTE 2. Here belong the following, which have undergone *i*-umlaut according to 94: *cwēn*, *woman* (Goth. *qēns*); *wēn*, *hope* (Goth. *wēns*); *gecwēme*, *convenient* (OHG. *bīquāmi*); *gesēman*, *reconcile*; *getēme*, *suitable* (OHG. *gizāmi*), etc. (compare the dialectic forms *cwōen*, *wōen*, *gecwōme*, etc.). OE. *ē* is, therefore, not to be considered as springing immediately from Germanic *ǣ*.

69. West Germ. *e* before original *m* becomes *i* in the verb *niman*, *take*, OHG. *neman*, but is preserved before *n*: *cwene*, *woman* (OHG. *quena*); *denu*, *valley*; North. *henu*, *lo* (compare also foreign words like *senoð*, *synod*; *senep*, *mustard*); and before *mn* from *fn*, as in *emn*, *stemn*, from *efn*, *stefn* (193. 2). Before nasal + consonant the *e* of foreign words incorporated into the language at an early date becomes *i*: *gim*, *gem*; *mint*, *mint*; *pinsian*, *consider*, from Latin *gemma*, *mentha*, *pensare*.

70. West Germ. *o* before nasals becomes *u*: *cuman*, *come*; *genumen*, *taken*; *-numa*, *receiver*; *wunian*, *dwelling*; *ṭunor*, *thunder* (OHG. *coman*, *ginoman*, *-nomo*,

wonēn, donar). So the **o** in the early borrowings from Latin: **munuc, munt, pund, cumpæder**, from Latin **monachus, montem, pondus, compater**; and, with subsequent **i-umlaut**: **mynet, mynster**, from Latin **moneta, monasterium**. An exception is **fōnt (fant)**, from Latin **fontem**.

NOTE. In the case of native words the rules of paragraphs **69, 70** apply only to a simple nasal, since nasal + consonant had already changed preceding **e** to **i** and **o** to **u** in the Germanic period (**45. 2, 3**).

b) INFLUENCES OF **W**

71. The combination **wiu, wio**, arising from Germanic **wi** by breaking (**79 ff.**), or through the agency of **u-** and **o/a-umlaut** (**105**), usually becomes **wu**; yet older forms with the diphthong **io** (**eo, 38**), and even such as have simple **i**, now and then occur: **wuton, let us**; **wudu, wood**; **wuduwe, widow**; **swutol, clear**; **wucu, week**; **c(w)ucu, living**; **wuht, thing** (so also **nāwuht, nāuht, nothing**); **betwuh, betwux, between**; side by side with **wiodu** (rare and old); **widuwe, weoduwe**; **sweotol**; **wicu, weocu**; **cwicu, cwic**; **betwih, etc.**

NOTE 1. Rare and late is the occurrence of **wo**: **wolcŕeād, for wiolocŕeād**. More usual in LWS. texts is **wy**: **wyduwe, swytol, betwyh**.

NOTE 2. The **io** of WS. **wio** experiences **i-umlaut** to **ie**, like any other **io**: **wierðe, worth**; **wiersa, worse**; **wier(re)sta, worst, etc.**

72. The combination **weo** from Germ. **we** (breaking or **u-umlaut, 79 ff.; 104**) generally retains its form; yet beside dialectal (esp. Kentish, Mercian, and R.²) **weo-roid, world**, occurs always the pure WS. **worold**; thus vary **weorðig** and **worðig, courtyard**, and more rarely

in LWS. certain others, like *worc*, *worpan*, *geswest-erna*, *swotol*, beside the usual *weorc*, *weorpan*, *gesweostor*, *sweotol*. For this *eo* LWS. frequently substitutes *u*: *swurd*, *wurðan*, *wurðian*, *swuster*, instead of *sweord*, *sword*; *weorðan*, *become*; *weorðian*, *estimate*, *prize*; *sweoster*, *sister*; subsequently this *u* is replaced by *y*: *swyrd*, etc.

NOTE. Contrariwise, the later language not seldom writes *wur* for *wyr*: *wurmas*, *wurd-*, *wurt-*, *wurste*, for *wyrmas*, *wyrd-*, *wyrt-*, *wyrste* (EWS. *wierste*); quite exceptionally *weor* for *wyr*, *wur*, as in *weormum*, *ymbhweorft*, *Geoweorþa*, for *wyrmum*, *ymbhwyrft*, Lat. *Jugurtha*.

73. 1) The combination *aw* remains normally unchanged before vowels: *awul*, *awl*; *clawu*, *claw*; *gesawen*, *seen*, etc. Where *ēa* crops up beside it, as in *fēawe*, *few* (Goth. *fawai*), *clēa*, *claw*, it has crept in from forms in which original *aw-* had for some reason become *au* (see 2, below).

NOTE 1. The umlaut of *aw* before vowels is *ew*: *strēwede*, *strewed*; *clēweða*, *itch*; *ewe*, *eve* (add perhaps the part. *gesewen*, *seen*, beside *gesawen*); later texts have also *eo*: *eowu*, *streowede*, etc. (but not **geseowen*). In certain words, like *mēowle*, *maiden* (Goth. *mawilō*), *ēowde*, *flock*, in which a middle vowel was syncope (143 ff.), long *ēo* seems to have occurred.

2) The combination *ew* before vowels regularly becomes *eow*; at the end of a syllable, however, it passes through *eu* into *ēo*: *cneowes*, *treowes*, *ðeowes*, etc., gen. sing. of *cnēo*, *knee*; *trēo*, *tree*; *ðēo*, *servant* (137); compare OHG. *knewes*, etc.

NOTE 2. From the juxtaposition of forms like *cnēo* and *cneowes* result, through mutual influence, those like *cnēow*, where the *w* has come in from the polysyllables, and such as *cnēowes*, where the long *ēo* has come from the monosyllables (Beitr. 10. 489 ff.).

3) Original *iw* remains partly unchanged before vowels, and partly appears as *iow* (eow, 38): *ðriwa*, *thrice*; *spiwe*, *spiweða*, *vomiting*; past part. *áspiwen*, *vomited*; *ásiwen*, *filtered*; *niwol*, *headlong*, beside less pure WS. forms like *niowol* (neowol), *áseowen*, etc.

NOTE 3. Forms with *ie*, *i*, like *nī(e)we*, *new* (Goth. *niujis*), *hī(e)w*, *form* (Goth. *hiwi*), etc., do not go back to an old *iw*, but to an older *iuw*, which arose from West Germ. gemination (227). Those like *slowian*, *sew*; *splowian*, *vomit*, have, on the other hand, probably borrowed their *io* (eo) from forms with original *iw* before vowels.

c) DIPHTHONGIZATION BY PALATALS

74. The palatal semivowel *j* (175), when beginning a word, unites with the vowels *a* (æ) and *o* to form *gea*, *geo* (gio): *gēa*, *yea*; *gēar*, *year*; *gioc*, *geoc*, *yoke*; *gēomor*, *sad*; so likewise in the pronoun *geon*, *that* (338, note 6), and its derivatives, like *geond*, *through*; *begeondan*, *beyond* (for *jan-*, *jōn-*, 65; compare EWS. *giend*, *gind*, Kent. *gend*, North. *gind*, *begienda*, with *i*-umlaut). The combination *ju* quite frequently remains unchanged: *iū*, *formerly*; *iung*, *gung*, *young*; *iuguð*, *guguð*, *youth* (compare Goth. *ju*, *juggs*); but its place is usually taken by *geo*, *gio*: *gēo*; *geong*, *giong*; *geoguð*, *gioguð*.

NOTE 1. *io* very rarely persists unchanged, as in *ioc*. The source of the *ie* in *giēt*, *giēta* (*gýt*, *gýta*), *yēt*, and *giēn*, *giēna* (beside more usual *gēn*, *gēna*), *yēt*, is not yet determined. There is no doubt that we have an older *j* in the pers. pron. *gē*, beside occasional *giē* (332).

NOTE 2. On forms like *gēr* for *gēar*, see 109.

75. The palatals *ǵ*, *ć*, and *śc* have a similar effect, since they change the primary palatals *æ*, *ǣ* (= Germ.

æ, 57.2), and e, into ea (with i-umlaut, ie), ēa (with i-umlaut, iē), and ie. Examples :

1) æ to ea : *geaf, gave* ; -*geat, obtained* ; *geat, gate* ; *geatwe, trappings* ; *ceaf, chaff* ; *ceaflas, jaws* ; *ceaster, town* ; *sceall, shall* ; *sceaft, shaft* ; *sceatt, treasure* ; *sceabb, scab* ; *scear, pret. 3 sing., cut* ; for **gæf*, **gæt*, **cæster*, **scæl*, etc. (compare Goth. *gaf, gat, skal*, Lat. *castra*). Similarly, with i-umlaut (98) : *gliest (gyst, gist), guest* ; *ciefes, concubine* ; *ciele, coolness* ; *scieppan, create* ; *cietel, kettle* ; from **geasti-*, **ceafis*, **sceappjan*, **ceatil*, for **gæsti-*, **cæfis*, **scaepþjan*, **cætil* (compare Goth. *gasts, skapjan*).

2) æ to ēa : *gēafon, gave* ; -*gēaton, obtained* ; *gēaglas, jaws* ; *scēap, sheep* ; *scēaron, cut* ; for **gæfon*, **gæton*, **scæron* (compare Goth. *gēbum, gētum*). With i-umlaut : *cīese, cýse, cheese*, for **cēasi*, from **cāsi*, from Lat. *cāseus*.

3) e to ie (i, y) : *giefan, give* ; *giefu, gift* ; -*gietan, obtain* ; *gield, offering* ; *gieldan, pay* ; *giellan, yell* ; *gielp, boasting* ; *gielpa, boast* ; *gied, song* ; *scieran, cut* ; *sciold, shield* ; beside *gifan, gyfan* ; *gildan, gyldan*, etc.

NOTE 1. Contrary to the rule, æ maintains itself in *gædeling, kinsman*, *æt-*, *tōgædere, together* (50, note 2), and in certain Latin words received into LWS., such as *cæppe, cap* ; *cæfester, halter*, from Lat. *cappa, capistrum* ; of course also in *gærs, grass*, *cærse, cress*, for *græs*, etc. (179). Forms like *gæst, scæd, shade*, *scær, scæron* (instead of *gliest, scead, scear, scæaron*), are unknown to WS. prose, but occur in poetry. The imp. *scæf* (beside *scaf*), for the normal *sceaf* (369), is of late formation.

NOTE 2. The e holds its ground in words like *geldan, gelp, sceran*, etc., to about the same extent as it is substituted for ie in general ; this e, however, cannot be regarded as pure WS. Nevertheless, WS. always has *scēþþan* (392. 4) (while poetry has a rare *scyþþan*),

and Ælfric regularly writes *gēsthūs* (otherwise an exceptional form), just as Mod. Eng. has a guttural *g* in *guest*. In the case of *gēsthus* there is probably borrowing from the Norse.

NOTE 3. When the palatal diphthongization of *e* is in conflict with breaking (79 ff.), the latter has the preference; hence, *ceorfan*, *carve*; *ceorl*, *man*; *georn*, *eager*; *sceorfan*, *gnaw*; not **cierfan*, etc. Under similar circumstances the *u*-, *o/a*-umlaut (101 ff.) likewise has the preference over palatal influence: *geolo*, *yellow*; *geoloca*, *yolk*; *ceole*, *throat*; *ceorian*, *lament*; yet pure WS. always has *giefu*, after the model of the gen. dat. acc. *giefe*, though outside of the limits of pure WS. there is also a nom. *geofu*.

76. 1) Other vowels undergo no change after *g* and *c*; this is true not only of the guttural vowels *a*, *ɔ*, *o*, *u*, as in *galan*, *sing*; *calan*, *be cold*; *gongan*, *go*; *cɔmp*, *camp*, *battle*; *gāst*, *spirit*; *cāsere*, *emperor*; *God*, *God*; *gōd*, *good*; *corn*, *corn*; *guma*, *man*; *cuman*, *come*; *gūð*, *battle*; *cūð*, *known*, but also of the resulting secondary palatals *æ*, *ɛ*, *ē*, *y*, *ȳ* (7, note) due to umlaut, as in *gæst* (beside *gāst*), *spirit*; *gæd*, *lack*; *gælsa*, *luxury*; *cæg*, *key* (cf. 90); *cemes*, *shirt*; *cɛmban*, *comb*; *cɛmpa*, *warrior*; *cɛnnan*, *beget*; *Cɛnt*, *Kent*; *-gɛnga*, *goer* (cf. 89. 4); *cellendre*, *coriander*; *cēne*, *bold*; *cēlan*, *cool*; *cēpan*, *observe*; *gēs*, *geese* (cf. 93; 94); *cyme*, *coming*; *cynn*, *kin*; *cyssan*, *kiss*; *cyst*, *choice*; *gylden*, *golden*; *cȳðan*, *announce* (cf. 95; 96).

NOTE 1. An exceptional *gēasne* is frequently found in the poetry, for and beside *gæsne*, *gēsne*, *barren* (OHG. *geisni*).

2) Instead of *sca*, *sco*, there is a frequent occurrence of *scea*, *sceo*: *sceacan*, *scēoc*, *sceacen*, *shake* (392), and *scacan*, *scōc*, *scacen*; *scādan* and *scēadan*, *separate*; *scamu*, *scɔmu*, and *sceamu*, *sceɔmu*, *shame*; *scop* and *sceop*, *poet*; *scōh* and *scēoh*, *shoe*. This variation is

an extremely irregular one, in regard not only to the spelling of single words, but also to the usage in the different texts.

In most cases *scu* remains unaffected: *scua*, *shadow*; *scucca*, *demon*; *scūfan*, *shove*; *sculdor*, *shoulder*; *scūr*, *shower*. Not till LWS. do we encounter single instances of *sceu*, like *sceucca*, *scēufan*, and somewhat more frequently *eo*: *sceocca*, *scēofan*, *scēor*.

No change is experienced by *scy*: *scyld*, *guilt*; *scyndan*, *hasten*; *scyte*, *shot*, etc.

NOTE 2. Even in the earlier texts *sceo* is a frequent substitute for *scu* in the verb *sceolan*, *shall*, beside *sculan* (423); plur. *sceolun*, beside *sculun*. The preterit *sceolde* for *scolde* is likewise of surprisingly frequent occurrence.

NOTE 3. The umlaut-*e* derived from *o* (89. 4) remains unchanged in *scēnc*, *goblet*; *scēncean*, *pour out*, but is nearly always diphthongized in pure WS. in *sciendan* (*scindan*, *scyndan*), *disgrace*, as is *ē*, the umlaut of *ō* (94), in *gescȳ*, *shoes* (for *gescīe*, Ps. North. *gescōe*).

NOTE 4. In later texts *e* is even occasionally inserted between *sc* and *a*, *o* in the midst of a word: *mennescea*, *human being*, *Ēgyptiscan*, *Ebrēiscan*, etc.

NOTE 5 (on 75-76). On account of the irregularity which prevails among the phenomena described in 76. 2, they are not to be classed, without further question, with those of 75 (and 74), which are consistently carried out in WS. It is not at all impossible that in the first case, to some extent at least, the *e* may have been a mere graphic insertion, to indicate that *sc* had the pronunciation of *sh* (German *sch*). Indeed, some scholars assign the same explanation to the *ea*, *ie* of 75, or in other words assert that they merely indicate the palatal pronunciation of the *g*, *c*, *sc* (206), and consequently that *ea* is merely an abbreviated mode of writing *eæ*. But this opinion can hardly be maintained in view of the fact that the *ea* and *ie* of 74 and 75 are treated in the subsequent evolution of the language exactly like the other *ea*'s and *ie*'s, which are indisputably true diphthongs; that is, that *ea*, *ēa* undergo palatal umlaut to *e*, *ē* (108; 109), and that *ie*,

ie are converted to unstable **i**, **y** and **ī**, **ȳ** (41). Accordingly, the **ea** (**eo**) and **ie** of 74 and 75 must be regarded as genuine diphthongs.

d) THE BREAKINGS

77. Breaking, according to Grimm, may be defined as the change of a short **e** to **eo**, and that of a short **a** to **ea**. We propose to frame a more accurate definition by restricting the name to such of the changes as take place solely through the influence of following consonants (for **ea**, **eo**, as **u**- and **o/a**-umlauts, see 108 ff.; for **ea**, **eo** from palatal + **a**, **o**, **u**, see 74 ff.).

78. Breaking is older than palatal diphthongization (75, note 3) and **u**-umlaut, since it already prevails in the Epinal glosses, which exhibit but few traces of **u**-umlaut. That it is likewise older than the **i**-umlaut is rendered probable by the fact that the broken **ea**, **eo** undergo regular umlaut to **ie**, **i**, **y** (97 ff.).

The varieties of breaking in WS. are the following:

1) Before **r** + consonant

79. 1) Before **r** + consonant West Germ. **e** passes into **eo**; and Germ. **a**, under the same circumstances, into **ea**:

a) **steorra**, *star*; **heorte**, *heart*; **eorðe**, *earth*; **weorpan**, *throw* = Goth. (**stairnō**), **hairtō**, **airpa**, **wairpan**, OS. **sterro**, **herta**, **ertha**, **werpan**, etc.

b) **earm**, *arm*; **wearp**, *threw*; **wearð**, *became* = Goth. **arms**, **warp**, **warþ**.

NOTE 1. The breaking remains, even when the second consonant is lost: **feorh**, *life*; **ðweorh**, *across*; **mearh**, *horse*; gen. **fēores**, **ðwēores**, **mēares** (on the lengthening see 218. 1, and note 1).

NOTE 2. On the other hand, breaking does not occur in *berstan*, *burst*; *Þerscan*, *thresh*; *fersc*, *fresh*; *gærs*, *grass*; *bærst*, *burst*; *ærn*, *house*; *hærn*, *wave*, and the causatives *ærnan*, *ride*; *bærnan*, *burn*, because in these cases the *r* + consonant is the result of metathesis (179). Why there should be an absence of breaking in *hærfest*, *harvest* (but cf. 50, note 2), and *brerd*, *margin* (unless in the latter word there be *i*-umlaut of *o*, 93), is not evident. For *arn* (*ørn*), *barn* (*børn*), see 65, note 1; 386, note 2. But, notwithstanding the metathesis, we have *beornan* (*byrnan*), *burn*, and *lernan* (*yrnan*), *run* = Goth. *brinnan*, *rinnan* (see under 2 below).

NOTE 3. Breaking is of rare occurrence in foreign words; thus we have *arce-*, beside *særce-*, *arch-* (in such words as *arcebiscop*, *archbishop*), *martrian*, *martyr*; and in later texts usually *arc*, *ark*, *carcern*, *prison*, where the earlier commonly prefer *earc*, *cearcern*.

2) West Germ. *i* was likewise broken to *io* (later *eo*); but as West Germ. *i* scarcely appears before *r* + consonant except in cases where *i*, *j* formerly followed this combination (45. 2), WS. *io* (*eo*) is umlauted, as in *hierde* (Goth. *hairdeis*), etc. (see 100, but also note 2 above).

2) Before *i* + consonant

80. West Germ. *a* before *i* + consonant is usually changed to *ea*, but *a* is often retained, especially in the older documents: *feallan*, *fall*; *eald*, *old*; *healf*, *half*; along with *fallan*, *ald*, *half* (perhaps more precisely *fállan*, *áld*, *hálf*, according to 124. 3; see also note 3), = Goth. *fallan*, etc.

NOTE 1. For forms like *Wealh* - *Wēales*, *Welshman*, see 79, note 1; 242; for their *i*-umlaut, 98; 99.

NOTE 2. Breaking takes place before *ll* only when the latter is of Germanic origin, as in *feallan*, *fall*; *eall*, *all*; *weallan*, *boil*; with *i*-umlaut: *fiell*, *fyll*, *fall*, etc. (98). Before the *ll* from Germanic *lj* (227), on the other hand, we have always *e*, i.e., the *i*-umlaut of the unchanged *a*: *he^ell*, *hell*; *te^ellan*, *tell*; the only exception is the (*siellan*),

syllan of certain texts (North. *sealla*), *give* (for **sealljan*), Goth. *saljan* (but CP. only *sellan*).

NOTE 3. Even in LWS. there is no sign of breaking in certain words, such as *balca*, *beam*; *dalc*, *brooch*; *fald*, *fold*. As the oldest form of the last word in OE. is *falud*, *falæd*, it is not improbable that there has been syncopation of a vowel following the *l* in the other words of this kind (compare also *Ælfrēd*, and similar names; *hælfter*, 50, note 2).

NOTE 4. Breaking is not found in late loan-words: *pæll*, *pallium*.

81. West Germ. *e* undergoes regular breaking to *eo* only before *lh*, *lc*: *meolcan*, *milk*; *āseolcan*, *language*; *heolca*, *hoar frost* (?); *seolh*, gen. *sēoles*, *seal*; *eolh*, *elk*; *sceolh*, *squinting*; *fēolan*, *command* (from **feolhan*, see 218); then in *heolfor*, *gore*, and in *seolf*, *self* (dialectic, as, for example, in Ps.), beside *stelf*, *sylf* (compare also *stiellic*, *syllic*, *strange*, beside *sellic*), and unchanged *self* (this form exclusively found in CP.). In other cases, *e* before *l* + consonant is retained: *swellan*, *swell*; *helm*, *helmet*; *helpan*, *help*; *sweltan*, *die*, etc.

NOTE 1. Whether the *eo*'s in reduplicated preterits like *weoll*, *heold*, etc. (396), are to be regarded as the results of breaking, or as originally long diphthongs, remains uncertain.

NOTE 2. Breaking may perhaps be assumed before *lw* in *geolo*, *yellow*, gen. *geolowes*, etc. (from the stem **gelwa-*); or this may be a case of *u*-umlaut, such as we have in its derivative *geol(o)ca*, *yolk*, and *heolstor* (Ep. *helustr*), *hiding-place* (104).

3) Before *h*

82. Before *h* + consonant (*x* = *hs*, 221. 2), and before the *h* which terminates a syllable, Germanic *a* is broken to *ea*, and *æ* to *ēa*:

a) *geneahhe*, *abundantly*; *eahta*, *eight*; *meahte*, *could*; *meaht*, *might*; *neaht*, *night* (for *miht*, *niht* see

98, note); *feax*, *hair*; *weaxan*, *grow*; also *hliehhan*, *hlyhhan*, *laugh* (with i-umlaut, 98); compare Goth. *ahtau*, *mahta*, *mahts*, *nahts*, *fahs*, *wahsjan*, *hlahjan*; WS. *gefeah*, *seah*, pret. sing. of *gefeon*, *rejoice*; *sēon*, see (391. 2);

b) *nēah* (Goth. *nēhw(a)*).

NOTE. No breaking usually appears in the foreign *trahtian*, *consider*, and its derivatives.

83. Under the same conditions as in the foregoing paragraph, Germ. *e* was originally broken to *eo*, alternating in EWS. with *io*. However, but few forms have been preserved with an invariable *eo*, *io*: *feoh*, *fiöh*, *cattle*; *eoh*, *horse*; *pleoh*, *danger*; imp. *gefeoh*, *seoh* (367; 391. 2); *feohtan*, *fight*; and frequently EWS. *Peohtas* (Angl. *Pehtas*), *Picts*. In other words EWS. *eo* is quite rare and hardly genuine: for example, *seox*, *six*; *reoht*, *right*; *cneoht*, *boy*; the result is usually disguised by palatal umlaut (108. 1).

84. 1) In like manner, Germ. *i* is broken to EWS. *io*, Common WS. *eo*: *tiohhian*, *teohhian*, *arrange*; *teoh*, *order*; *meox* (Goth. *maihstus*), *ordure*; so now and then (but hardly genuine WS.) in proper names like *Wioht*, *Isle of Wight*; *Wiohthūn*, *Wiohtgār*, etc. But there are often parallel forms with *i*, *y* (for older *ie*, 23), like *wrixl*, *exchange*; *mixen*, *dunghill*; *Wiht*, *Wight*; *wiht*, *thing*; *gesihð*, *gesyhð*, *sight*; *sihð*, *syhð*, *sees*, etc., which are to be referred partly to i-umlaut (100), partly to the so-called palatal umlaut (108).

2) Germ. *i* is broken in some cases to *ēo* (not *io*): *lēoht* (North. *lēht*, Goth. *leihts*), *easy*; *betwēoh*, *between*;

(*wēobud*, *wēofod*, *altar*, for *wēohb-*, Angl. *wībed*, 222, note 1); compare the Common WS. imperatives *lēoh*, *tēoh*, *ðēoh*, *wrēoh* (from the contract verbs *lēon*, etc., 383), for which EWS. instances are wanting. Elsewhere we have also EWS. *io*, as in *Wiohstān*, and after *w* a *u* in *betwuh*, *between* (compare Goth. *tweiht-nai*, *two*); *fulwuht*, *baptism*, which points to shortened *io* (71).

NOTE 1. Breaking is even caused by the *x* arising from *sc* by metathesis (209): *betweox*, *between*, beside *betwix* (329, note 1).

NOTE 2 (on 82-84). Even before *h* followed by a vowel, breaking very likely occurs. At least this is the simplest explanation of contract forms like *slēan*, *strike* (111. 2), *nēar*, *nearer* (112), for **slēahan*, **nēahur* from **slahan*, **nēēhur*; and especially of those like *sion*, beside *sēon*, *see* (113. 2), and *tēon*, beside *tion*, *accuse* (114. 3), for **siohan*, beside **seohan*, from **sehan* (83), and **tēohan*, beside *tiohan*, from *tihan* (84. 2).

e) THE UMLAUTS

85. Umlaut, in Germanic grammar, denotes those mutations of a stressed vowel which are caused by a vowel or semivowel (*j*, *w*) of the following syllable. There is, therefore, a division into *a*-umlaut, *i*-umlaut, *u*-umlaut, etc., according to the sound by which the umlaut is produced.

On the so-called palatal umlaut see 108; 109.

86. The mutations of a basic vowel by umlaut are of different kinds in OE. They consist either in a partial assimilation of the basic vowel to the following sound, or in the development of the basic vowel into a diphthong. The former is the case with the *i*-umlaut, for example, *here*, *army*, older *hēri*, from *hari*; the latter is

the case with the u- and o-umlaut, as in *ealu*, *ale*, from **alu*, or *eofur*, *boar*, from **eþur*.

NOTE. Grimm regarded the second kind of umlaut as a subordinate species of breaking; but it seems better to employ the term 'breaking' in the narrower signification specified in 77, and (with Holtzmann) to speak of u- and o/a-umlaut as well as of i-umlaut.

87. As regards the relative age of the various umlauts, the i-umlaut is the oldest of all. It succeeds breaking in order of time, but precedes the u-umlaut, since it already prevails in documents which exhibit but the scantiest traces of u-umlaut (78).

1) The i-umlaut

88. The cause of i-umlaut is an *i* or *j* which originally followed the stressed syllable, it being a matter of indifference whether the *i* already existed in Indo-European, or whether it was transformed in the Germanic period from older *e* or *ei* (45.2, 7). As the language underwent further development, the sounds which produced umlaut either grew unrecognizable (by weakening to *e*, 44), or were entirely lost (177). Hence the causes of this umlaut can, in the majority of cases, only be determined by a comparison with the cognate languages, which, in the preservation of the *i*, *j*, represent an older stage than OE.

89. The older short *a* had, before the appearance of i-umlaut, been divided into *æ* and *ɑ* (49 ff.; 65), and with these two was, under special circumstances, associated the form *a*, as well in native as in foreign words. For this reason it becomes necessary to treat of their umlaut under different heads.

1) The i-umlaut of the short æ before an originally single consonant is normally *ē* (19, note): *herigan*, *glorify*; *nerigan*, *save*; *here*, *army*; *tellan*, *count*; *settan*, *set*; *wecan*, *awaken*; *lecgan*, *lay* = Goth. *hazjan*, *nasjan*, *harjis*, * *taljan*, *satjan*, *wakjan*, *lagjan*, etc.

NOTE 1. Beside *ē* occurs a sporadic *æ*, especially in *sægan*, *say*, beside *sēcgan*; *wræcc(e)a*, *exile*, beside *wrēcc(e)a*; and *æl-* beside *el-* (compare Goth. *aljis*, *another*), for example, *ælðiodig*, *elðiodig*, foreign. This *æ* is constant in *stæpe*, *step*, and in certain words which are assumed, notwithstanding the OE. geminates (225 ff.), to have originally had but a single consonant after the vowel: *stæppan*, *step*; *gemæcc(e)a*, *mate*; *sæcc*, *dispute*; *wæcce*, *watch*; *wæccende*, *watching*; *næs*, *foreland*; *pæððan*, *traverse*; *scæððig*, *injurious*; *stæððan*, *support*; *mæcg*, *man*, etc.

2) The i-umlaut of short æ before consonant groups is normally *æ*: *æsc*, *ash*; *ligræsc*, *lightning*; *dwæscan*, *extinguish*; *æspe*, *aspen*; *fæstan*, *fasten*; *-hlæstan*, *burden*; *mæstan*, *fatten*; *hæftan*, *arrest*; *ræfsan*, *blame*; *æfnan*, *execute*; *stæfnan*, *regulate*; *næglan*, *nail*; *brægden*, *cunning*; *fæðman*, *embrace*, etc.

NOTE 2. Constant exceptions with *ē* are: *eft*, *again*; *rest*, *rest*; *restan*, *rest*; *egle*, *troublesome*; *eglan*, *molest*; *esne*, *servant*; *stefn*, *stemn*, *trunk*. Beside *æ* we occasionally also find *ē* in *efnan*, *stefnan*.

3) The umlaut of the *a* which must exceptionally be postulated instead of *æ* is *æ*. This is evident in foreign words like *Læden*, *Latin*; *cæfester*, *halter*; *mægester*, *master*, from Lat. *Latinum*, *capistrum*, *magister*, etc. In native words it often occurs, for example, when leveling by analogy takes place between *a* and *æ*, as in the 2 and 3 sing. *færes*, *-eð*, *goest*, *goes*, from Prim. OE. * *faris*, *-ip* (for Prim. OE. * *færis*, *-ip*), in conformity

with *faru*, *farað*, etc. (371, note 2), or in words like *ræced*, *house*; *hæleð*, *hero*; *hæcele*, *cloak*, from Prim. OE. **rakid*, **halip*, **hakila* (for Prim. OE. **rækid*, etc.), in conformity with the parallel forms **rakud*, **halup*, **hakula* with suffixal ablaut (127; 128).

NOTE 3. Here probably belong the *æ*'s of 50, note 2; cf. also 100, note 4.

4) The umlaut of *a* before nasals, which, as we have seen, interchanges with *o* (65), is in the oldest texts *æ*, later *ę*: *frēmman*, *perform*; *męn(n)*, *men*; *sęndan*, *send*; *stręngra*, *stronger*; *dręncan*, *drench*, from the stems *from*, *forwards*; *męn(n)*, *man(n)*, *man*; *stręng*, *strang*, *strong*; *dręnc*, *drank*, etc.

NOTE 4. The *æ* has persisted where it was separated from the following nasal by early metathesis; hence we have *ærnan*, *ride*; *bærnan*, *burn* (causative) = Goth. *rannjan*, *brannjan*, and probably also *ærn*, *house*; *hærn*, *wave*, from **ranni*, **hranni* (79, note 2; 179).

NOTE 5. Different from this is the use of *æ* instead of *ę*, which at a later period is confined to certain texts which have a dialectal (especially Kentish) cast; these employ it frequently in a fairly uniform manner: *fræmman*, *mænn*, *sændan*, *ðæncan*, *ængel*, etc.

90. The *i*-umlaut of OE. *ā* (from *ai* and *ā*, 62 and 57) is *æ*: *hāl*, *whole*, *hælan*, *heal*; *lār*, *lore*, *læran*, *teach*; *ān*, *one*, *ænig*, *any*; *dæl*, *part*, *hæl*, *omen* (*i*-stems). So also *gān*, *go*, 2 and 3 sing. *gæst*, *gæð* (430); *læwan* (Goth. *lēwjan*), *betray*.

91. The *i*-umlaut of WS. *æ* = Germ. *æ*, Goth. *ē* (57. 2) is likewise *æ*: *læce* (Goth. *lēkeis*), *leech*; *dæd* (Goth. *dēps*, *i*-stem), *deed*; *mære*, *famous* (*jo*-stem).

NOTE. Goth. *mēkels*, *sword*, is always *mēce*, though the OS. form is *māki*. For other ē's which are only apparently identical with Goth. ē, see 68, note 2. A special umlaut-form for Germ. (Goth.) ē seems not to exist: *gelēfan*, *weaken* (from **-lēbjan*), like *lēf*, *weak*, etc.

92. A true OE. i-umlaut of e does not exist, since every Germ. e when followed by i, j had already become i (45. 2). The interchange of e and i in groups like *etan*, *itest*, *iteŕ* (Goth. *itan*, *itis*, *itip*); *helpan*, *hilpest*, *hilpŕ*; OE. *regn*, *rain*, *rignan*, *rīnan*, *rain* (for **rign-jan*), etc., belongs to a period antecedent to that of OE.

93. The i-umlaut of o is

1) e from older œ (27): *morgen* and *męrgen*, *mor-row*; *dohtor*, dat. sing. *dęhter*, *daughter*; *oxa*, nom. acc. plur. *ęxen* (277, note 1); *ęfes*, *eaves*, beside *yfes* (OHG. *obasa*, Goth. *ubizwa*); *ęstan*, *hasten* (from *ofst*, *ofost*, *zeal*, *haste*); so likewise in the foreign words *ęle*, *oil*; *ęel(1)endre*, *coriander*, from Lat. *oleum*, *coriandrum*.

2) usually y: *gold*, *gold*, *gylden*, *golden*; *hold*, *gracious*, *hyldo*, *grace*; *forht*, *timid*, *fyrhtu*, *fear*; *gnorn* (*ā*-stem) and *gnyrn* (*i*-stem), *grief*, etc. So likewise in foreign words like *cycene*, *kitchen*; *mynet*, *coin*; *mynster*, *minster*, from Lat. *coquina*, *moneta*, *monasterium* (70); and *mynece(n)*, *nun*, from *munuc*, *monk*, Lat. *monachus*.

NOTE. This y is not the direct umlaut of OE. o, but of an antecedent u which (45. 3) existed already in Prim. Germ. in place of o before following i, j; compare, for example, OS. *gold*, *guldīn*; *hold*, *huldi*, etc. In the examples under 1, where we have the true umlaut of o, the o was transferred, before the occurrence of the i-umlaut, from the cases where the latter is absent to those where it was subsequently found. Where this explanation does not hold, the o, as in the case of *ęle*, belongs to a foreign word.

94. The i-umlaut of *ō* is *ē*, from older *œ* (27):

a) older *ō* (60): *dōm*, *doom*, *dēman*, *deem*; *bōc*, *book*, *bēc* plur.; *sōhte*, *sought*, *sēcan* inf.; *glēd*, *gleed*, *spēd*, *success* (i-stems);

b) *ō* before nasals from West Germ. *ā*, Germ. *æ* (see 68, note 2);

c) *ō* from older *on*, *an* (66): *gōs*, *goose*, plur. *gēs*; *sōfte*, *softly*, adv., *sēfte*, adj.; *fōn*, *catch*, *fēhst*, *fēhð*, 2 and 3 sing.; *ōht*, *persecution*, *ēhtan*, *persecute*.

NOTE. In the oldest texts *œ* is found, though but very seldom, in place of *ē*: *œðel*, *ēðel*, Cura Past. 2. 7; *-dœ*, ib. 8. 2, for the regular *dō*.

95. The i-umlaut of *u* is *y*: *wulle*, *wool*, *wyllen*, *woollen*; *gesund*, *sound*, *gesynto*, *soundness*; *hungor*, *hunger*, *hyngnan*, *hunger*; *burg*, *city*, *byr(i)g* (284), etc.; and in foreign words like *cymen*, *cumin*; *pyle*, *pillow*; *pytt*, *pit*; *ynce*, *inch*, from Lat. *cuminum*, *pulvinum*, *puteus*, *uncia*.

NOTE 1. The instances of *y* from *u* are very numerous, but only a few pairs of words with *u* and *y* can be adduced, since Prim. Germ. *u* scarcely ever occurred except before nasal + consonant and before *i*, *j* (45. 3), and therefore must of necessity have undergone umlaut in almost every instance.

NOTE 2. For EWS. *ymb*, *ymbe*, *about*, LWS. frequently has *emb*, *embe*.

96. The i-umlaut of *ū* is *ȳ*:

a) older *ū*: *brūcan*, *use*, *brȳcð* 3 sing.; *tūn*, *hedge*, *ontȳnan*, *open*; *brȳd*, *bride* (i-stem); and in foreign words like *strȳta*, *ostrich*; *plȳme*, *plum*, from Lat. *struthio*, *prune*.

b) *ū* from *un* (186.1): *fūs*, *ready*, *fȳsan*, *hasten*; *cūð*, *known*, *cȳðan*, *make known*; *ȳð*, *wave* (*jā*-stem), etc.

Diphthongs

97. In the older texts the *i*-umlaut of *ea* and *ēa* is usually *ie* and *īe*, and afterward the sound designated by unstable *i* (22); the latter is often represented by *i* (beside *ie*), and then chiefly by *y*. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the *y* predominates, except in certain cases where there seems to have been an actual change to the pure *i*-sound (31, note). Besides, there occur in many texts the collateral forms *e*, *ē*, which may perhaps be regarded as reductions of *ie*, *īe* to a monophthong.

NOTE. In general, these *e*'s, *ē*'s may be regarded as dialectic (although they are written, for example, by certain copyists of the *Cura Past.*, they are entirely wanting in *Ælfric's Homilies*, except in the word *gesthūs*, 75, note 2).

98. Examples of *ea*:

a) broken *ea* (79 ff.): *earm*, *poor*, *iermðu*, *misery*, *ierming*, *wretch*; *cald*, *old*, comp. *ieldra*, sup. *ieldesta*, *ieldu*, *age*; *weallan*, *boil*, 3 sing. *wielð*, *wielm*, *surge* (*i*-stem); *Wealh*, *Welshman*, *wielisc*, *foreign* (218): *weaxan*, *grow*, 3 sing. *wiexð* (so likewise *slichð*, *ðwiehð*, from *slēan*, *smite*; *ðwēan*, *wash*); *hliehhan* (Goth. *hlahjan*), *laugh*; *sliht* (*i*-stem), *battle*.

b) *ea* after palatals (74 ff.): *scieppan* (Goth. *skapjan*), *create*; *ciefes* (OHG. *kebisa*), *concubine*; *giest* (*i*-stem), *guest*.

The later forms of these words are *irmðu*, *irming*, *ildra*, *ildesta*, *ildu*, *wilð*, *wilm*, *wilisc*, *wixð*, *slihð*,

ðwihð, **hlīhhan**, **sliht**, **scippan**, **cīfes**, **gīst**; still later are **yr̥mðu**, **yldra**, **wylm**, **wylisc**, **hlyhhan**, **slyht**, **scyppan**, **cyfes**, **gyst**, etc. More rarely occur forms like **eldra**, **welm**, **wergan**, etc.

NOTE. In **miht**, *might*, and **niht**, *night* (284), the **i** is tolerably stable (cf. 31, note). In **-scīpe**, *-ship* (263. 1), beside the very rare **-scīepe**, the **i** is probably earlier than Old English, as may be inferred from the corresponding OS. forms in **-skipl**.

99. Examples of **ēa**: **hēah**, *high*, comp. **hīehra**, sup. **hīehst**; **hēawan**, *hew*, 3 sing. **hīewð**; **nēat**, *animal*, dimin. **nīeten**; **bēacen**, *beacon*, **bīecnan**, *beckon*; **gelēafa**, *belief*, **geliefan**, *believe*; **hīeran**, *hear*; **nīed**, *need*, **lieg**, *flame* (i-stems), etc.; afterward **hīhra**, **hīhst**, **nīten**, **bīcnan**, **gelīfan**, **hīran**, **nīd**, **līg**, and **hīhra**, **hīhst**, **nīten**, **gelyfan**, **hīran**, **nīd**; more rarely **nēten**, **gelēfan**, **hēran**, etc.

NOTE 1. Before **c** and **g** the **y** is but seldom written (31, note). For **igg** replacing **ig** see 24, note.

NOTE 2 (on 98, 99). In lightly stressed syllables even pure WS. has frequently **e**, **ē** instead of **ie**, **īe**; compare formations like **æfwerdla**, *injury*; **metelēstu**, *lack of food*, etc.

100. 1) The i-umlaut of **eo** and **ēo** is in general exactly the same in pure WS. as that of **ea** and **ēa**, being represented by **ie**, **i**, **y**, and **īe**, **ī**, **y**:

a) Examples of **eo**: **feorr**, *far*, **áfíerran**, *remove*; **weorpan**, *throw*, 3 sing. **wierpð**; subst. **weorð**, *worth*, adj. **wierðe**; **ierre**, *anger*, **angry**, **hierde**, *herdsman* (jo-stems); **fierst** (i-stem, with metathesis, 179), *time*; afterward **áfírran**, **wirpð**, **wirðe**, **irre**, **hirde**, **first**, and **áfyr̥ran**, **wyrpð**, **wyrðe**, **yrre**, **hyrde**, **fyrst**, etc.

b) Examples of *ēo*: *cēosan*, *choose*, 3 sing. *ciesō*; *hrēowan*, *rue*, 3 sing. *hriewō*; *lēoht*, *light*, *liehtan*, *illuminate*; *gestrēon*, *possession*, *strienan*, *obtain*; *trēow*, *faith*, *getrīewe*, *faithful*; *ōiestre*, *gloomy*; later *cisō*, *hriwō*, *lihtan*, *strīnan*, *getrīwe*, *ōistre*, and *cysō*, *hrywō*, *lȳhtan*, *strȳnan*, *getrȳwe*, *ōȳstre*.

NOTE 1. Before *h* + consonant the variant *y* is rarely met with: *lēoht*, *easy*, *lihtan*, *lighten*; *wrixlan*, *exchange*; *lixan* (or shortened to *lixan*), *illuminate* (Goth. **liuhajan*); yet in EWS. always *ryhtan*, *direct* (108, note 1), and Common WS. *wyht*, beside *wiht* (1-stem), and frequently *gesyhō*, beside *gesihō*, *sight*, etc.

After *j* WS. as a rule has only *i*. So from *geong*, *young* (74), is formed the comp. *gingra*, sup. *gingest*, not *gliengra*, *gliengesta*, or *gyngra*, etc. Beside EWS. *gind* there is a rare *glend*; but *geond*, without umlaut, is common (74; 338, note 6). Beside EWS. *glicōa*, *itch*, occurs a later *gicōa*, and so *gicclan*, *itch*; *gicclig*, *purulent*.

2) Beside *īe* (*i*, *ȳ*), there occurs in EWS. as umlaut of *ēo* an *īo*, which eventually, like all *īo*'s, becomes *ēo*, and thus comes to coincide in form with the non-umlauted *ēo*: *stēod*, *people*, *geōiode*, *language*, *ēlōiode*, *foreign people*, *ēlōiodig*, *foreign*, *geōiodan* (refl.), *join*, *underōiodan*, *subject*; *stēor*, *helm*, *stīoran*, *steer*, *stīora*, *helmsman*; *trēow*, *trust*, *getrīow(i)an*, *clear oneself*; beside *ēlōiedig*, *ge-*, *underōiedan*, *stīeran*, *stīera*, *getrīewan* (but not **geōiede*, etc.); LWS. *geōēode*, *ēlōēodig*, *ge-*, *underōēodan*, *stēoran*, *stēora*, *getrēowan*, etc.

NOTE 2. Not to be confounded with this phenomenon, which may perhaps be called semiumlaut, and which holds even in the purest WS. is the occurrence in less pure WS. texts, as in Anglian, of occasional (10) *ēo*, not due to umlaut, instead of *īe*, *īe*: *āfeorran*, *corre*, *heorde*, or *nēowe*, *new*; *hēow*, *form*, for strict WS. *nīewe*, *nīwe*, etc.

NOTE 3 (on 88-100). Occasionally the vowel of the first element of a compound is umlauted by the radical vowel of the second element: *hlāf-dige*, *lady*, beside *hlāf-ord*, *lord* (43, note 4); *ǣnlic*, beside *ānlic*, *peerless*; *ȝyslic*, *ȝyllic*, beside *ȝuslic*, *ȝullic*, *such*; *ǣghwile*, *ēghwile*, *each*, etc. (347); North. *ǣniht*, *anything*; *nǣniht*, *nothing* (348); and, with further mutilation of the word, *endleofan* (from **ainlifōn*), *eleven*; *eneterē*, *enitre* (from **ānwintri*), *yearling*; or the foreign *Wyrtegeorn* from *Vor-tigern*, etc.

NOTE 4. Umlaut of the first syllable of a trisyllabic word is occasionally produced by the vowel of the final syllable (working through umlaut of the vowel of the middle syllable). Here belong especially specimens of the phonetic series a-u-i (50, note 2): *gǣdeling*, *kinsman* (earlier *gǣdilling*, from **gadilling*, from **gaduling*), etc.; then cases like *ǣrende* (from **arindi*, from **ārundi*), *errand*; *ǣmerge* (from **āmirja*, from **āmurja*, OHG. *elmuria*), *embers*. North. *œfist* (43, note 4, from **ofist*, from **ofusti*, for **of-unsti*), etc.

NOTE 5. Now and then the umlaut of the second element of a compound affects the first, without direct phonetic influence (as in note 3): *ǣnīge*, beside *ānīge* (*ānēage*, note 7), *one-eyed*; *ǣnliepe*, *-ig*, beside *ānliepe*, *-ig* (North. *ānlape*), *sole* (compare ON. *einhleyp*), *ǣrlēst*, beside *ārlēast* (note 7), *dishonor*; and probably *sǣm-*, *sēmtinges*, beside *samtenges*, *adv.*, *together*; *endemes*, *equally* (for **sōm-tængis*, *āndǣmis*), etc.

NOTE 6. The umlaut of the first element of a compound is sometimes lacking, even when the corresponding simple word exhibits it: *Cant-ware*, *Kentishmen*, beside *Cēnt*, *Kent*; *sōm-*, *sam-*, *half*, in compounds like *sōm-*, *samcucu*, *half alive* (OHG. *sāmlquec*), etc.

NOTE 7. Umlaut is not seldom lacking in derivatives, especially late formations, which take instead the original vowel of the underlying word: *folcisc*, *popular*; *hūsincel*, *cottage*; *leorning*, *study*, etc. Especially, too, to be noted is the lack of umlaut in the second element of compounds: *ānēage*, *one-eyed*; *orsāwle*, *lifeless*; *sīdfeaxe*, *long-haired*; *orcenāwe*, *evident*; *orgēate*, *evident*; *ēōbegēate*, *easily obtained*; subst. *smælȝearme*, *lower abdomen*; poet. *syn-caldu*, *perpetual cold* (cf. 279). In LWS. this lack of umlaut occurs particularly in the abstracts ending in *-lēast*, like *mētelēast*, *want of food*, beside EWS. *-lēst*, *-lēstu*.

2) The u- and o/a-umlaut

101. Before a following prehistoric or Prim. OE. **u** or **o** a West Germ. **a** may be changed in OE. to **ea**, **e** to **eo**, **i** to **io**.

This phenomenon is especially well marked in the Anglian dialects, particularly in Mercian (160); in WS., on the contrary, it is subject to various limitations, because (1) those vowels have less power to produce umlaut in WS., and (2) the workings of analogy have more frequently obscured the result of such umlaut. In particular, the inflections of WS. show an almost complete leveling of the forms with and without umlaut, chiefly in favor of the latter.

Again, the effect of Prim. OE. **ũ** is more extended than that of the **ö**-vowels, for which reason we consider the two separately. Here the following points deserve attention :

1) Under u-umlaut belong all the cases which have Prim. OE. **ũ** as their umlauting agent, regardless of its origin (whether from original **ũ** or some other Germ. vowel, especially **ō**), and regardless of its later development (weakening to **ō**, later to **a**, or in middle syllables even to **e**).

2) The prehistoric **ö** (whatever its source) regularly appears as historic **a**, except where it has become **ũ** (1, above) or has sunk to an inactive **e** or **i**; hence it may be doubtful which of the two forms, **o** or **a**, actually produced the umlaut. Accordingly we shall designate this as the o/a-umlaut, meaning by this that it occurs before a historic **a** which sprang from a prehistoric **o** (but not from prehistoric **u**, as in 1).

3) **u-** and **o-**umlaut act in general only through a single consonant (individual exceptions are noted below); these consonants differ in their effect upon the umlaut, some facilitating it, while others obstruct it. Most favorable are the liquids (**r**, **l**), followed by the labials (**f**, **p**); then come the gutturals **g** and **c** (**h** is disregarded because of breaking, 82 ff.), and finally the dentals (**d**, **t**, **θ**, **s**), which are the most obstructive.

4) Both umlauts are facilitated by a **w** preceding the affected vowel; here umlaut takes place before consonants which otherwise hinder its occurrence. This group of umlauts seems, too, to be older than the rest.

a) *The u-umlaut*

102. Besides being produced by the **u** of the **u**-stems (270 ff.), the **u** of the nom. sing. fem. and of the nom. acc. plur. of short-stemmed neuters (253; 238), the **u** of the **wo-** and **wā-**stems (249; 250; 259), and the **-um** of the dat. plur. (237), etc., the **u-umlaut** may also be occasioned by the suffixes **-oc**, **-od**, **-ot**, **-oθ**, **-or**, **-ol**, **-on**, **-um**, standing for older **-uc**, **-ud**, **-ut**, etc. (the latter endings being occasionally found in the manuscripts). Here belongs especially the **o** in the pret. and past part. of the weak verbs of the Second Class, like **sealfode**, earlier **-ude** (412).

103. **a** to **ea**. This umlaut is extremely rare in pure WS. prose. The only word in which it regularly occurs is **ealu**, *ale*, gen. dat. **ealoθ**, beside rarer **aloθ** (281. 2). Otherwise **ea** is entirely lacking: **arod**, *brisk*; **darōθ**, *arrow*; **warōθ**, *shore*; **apuldre**, *apple-tree*; **stapol**, *prop*;

hafoc, *hawk*; **hagol**, *hail*; **flacor**, *flying*; **sadol**, *saddle*; **atol**, *terrible*; **staðol**, *foundation*; **lasor**, *cockle*; also of course in inflections: **calu**, *callow*; **stalu**, *theft*; **caru**, *care*; **magu**, *boy*; **hagu**, *haw*; **lagu**, *sea*; **racu**, *account*; **sacu**, *dispute*; **faðu**, *aunt*, or the plurals **salu**, *halls*; **trafu**, *tents*; **bladu**, *leaves*; **baðu**, *baths*; **fatu**, *vessels*; dat. **bladum**, **fatum**, etc.

NOTE 1. In forms like **fealu**, *fallow*; **bealu**, *evil* (beside **falu**, **balu**), as well as in **bearu**, *grove*; **nearu**, *distress*; **searu**, *armor*, the **ea** is not the result of **u**-umlaut, but is transferred from the cases like gen. **fealwes**, **bearwes**, which exhibit breaking (79 ff.); **ceafor**, *chafer* (stem ***kafra-**), has **ea** from palatal + **æ** (75. 1); forms like **ceafu**, **geatu** (beside **gatu**, 240, note 3), follow the sing. **ceaf**, **geat** (75. 1); for **sceadu**, *shadow*; **gesceapu**, *destiny*, etc., see 76.

NOTE 2. In texts of a less purely WS. cast the **ea** is somewhat commoner, and in particular is very generally found in the poetry, where it is doubtless due to Anglian originals (2, note 6; 160): **cearu**, *care*; **dearoð**, *arrow*; **wearoð**, *shore*; **eafoð**, *strength*; **eafora**, *posterity*; **heafoc**, *hawk*; **heafola**, *head*; **beadu** (and so gen. **beadwe**, 259), *battle*; **eatol**, *terrible*; **heaðu-**, *battle*, etc., beside **caru**, **darroð**, **waroð**, **afora**, **hafola**, **hafoc**, etc. Even the inflectional **u** occasionally produces **ea**, as in plur. **heafu**, **treafu**, from **hæf**, *ocean*, **træf**, *tent*.

104. **e** to **eo**. 1) **u**-umlaut of **e** to **eo** is the rule in WS. before the liquids **r** and **l**: **heorot**, *hart*; **smeoru**, *grease*; **teoru**, *tar*; poet. **heoru-**, *sword*; **heolor**, *scales*; **geolo**, *yellow*; then, with subsequent syncopation of the **u**, forms like **heolstor** (Ep. **helustras**, plur.), *hiding place*. Yet the leveling process of analogy does away with the **eo** in inflection: nom. acc. plur. **speru**, dat **sperum**, **werum**, **welum**, nom. **peru**, like sing. **spere** *spear*; **wer**, *man*; **wela**, *riches*, obl. **peran**, etc.; so generally **melo** (beside **meolo**), *meal*, like gen. **melwes**, etc. and **giefu**, for **geofu**, *gift*, like obl. **giefe** (75, note 3), etc. On the treatment of **weo-** see note 2.

2) Before labials, EWS. has usually *e*, which later becomes normally *eo*: EWS. *efor*, *boar*, in *Eforwic*, *York*; *hefon*, *heaven* (WS. *eofor*, *heofon*); then *beofor*, *beaver*; poet. *geofon*, *ocean*; *sweofot*, *sleep*; compare also *eofot*, *debt*; *eofolsian*, *blaspheme* (43, note 4), and the foreign *eofole*, a plant (Lat. *ebulus*).

3) Before gutturals and dentals the *eo* is lacking in pure WS.: *regol*, *rule*; *sprecol*, *loquacious*; *edor*, *enclosure*; *medu*, *mead*; *fetor*, *fetter*; *teso*, *injury*. Hence, too, inflectional forms like *gebrecu*, *gebedu*, *gemetu*, *gesetu*, dat. *gebrecum*, etc., from *gebrec*, *crash*; *gebed*, *prayer*; *gemet*, *measure*; *geset*, *dwelling*, are to be regarded as phonetically regular forms.

NOTE 1. Texts which are less purely WS., especially the poetical ones, frequently have umlaut-forms with *eo*: *reogol*, *eodor*, *meodo*, *feotor*, poet. *breogo*, *prince*; *meotod*, *fate*; likewise in inflection: *geseotu*, *meoto*, from sing. *geset*, *dwelling*; *met*, *measure*, etc. Certain texts seem to prefer this umlaut before gutturals rather than before dentals.

NOTE 2. WS. has *wo* for *weo* before *r*, *l* (1, above) in *woruld*, *worold*, *world* (but Kent. Merc. R.² *weorold*, 72); *swoloða*, *heat*. On the other hand, *werod* and *weorod*, *troop*, generally *werod*, *sweet*, and the plur. *weleras* (from **weluras*), *lips*.

4) Only after *w* does the *u*-umlaut of *e* regularly become *eo* in pure WS., even before consonants which otherwise do not transmit it: *hweogol*, *wheel*; *sweetol*, *evident*; *weotuma*, *dowry*; and before the combination *st* in *sweostor*, *sister*.

105. *i* to *io*. 1) After *w*, the *u*-umlaut of *i* occurs even in WS. without reference to the following consonant, but becomes *wu* in this case (71): *cwucu*, *cucu*, *living*; *-hwugu*, *-hugu*, in pronouns like *hwæth(w)ugu*,

whatever (344); *cwudu*, *cudu*, *cud*; *wudu*, *wood*; *wuduwe*, *widow*; *wuton*, *let us*; *swutol*, *evident*; and before *st* in *swuster* (from **swistur*), etc.

NOTE 1. This rule is broken by numerous levelings in the inflection. Sometimes *u* prevails throughout, as in plur. *cwuce*, *cuce*, for *cwice*, like *c(w)ucu*, or inf. *swugian*, *sugian*, *keep silent*, for *swigian*, like pret. *swugode*; sometimes it is *i* that is generalized, as in plur. *twigu*, from *twig*, *twig*; nom. *swipu*, *whip*, like the obl. *swipe*; or in conjugation, like *witan*, *know*; *gewitun*, *went*, etc. In other cases, *wu-* and *wi-*forms occur more or less indiscriminately side by side: beside *wuduwe*, *widow*, LWS. often *widuwe*, *widewe*; beside *sweetol* (from **swetul*, 104. 4) and *swutol* (from **switul*), an occasional *switol*, etc. LWS. has also *wy*: *wydewe*, etc.

NOTE 2. Only rarely occurs *wio*, *weo*; an example is *wioluc*, *weoloc*, *whelk*.

2) Apart from the position after *w*, *u*-umlaut of *i* to EWS. *io*, WS. *eo* takes place, as a rule, only before the liquids (*r*), *l* and the labials *f* and *p*, that is, before those consonants which also favor the *u*-umlaut of *e* to *eo* (104. 1, 2). Hence EWS. *mioluc*, *milk*; *sioluc*, *silk*; *sioluf*, *silver*; pret. *tiolode*, from *tilian*, *attempt*; *siofun*, *seven*; *siofoða*, *seventh*; **siofoða*, *bran*; pret. *cliopode*, from *clipian*, *call*, etc. = Common WS. *meol(o)c*, *seoloc*, *seolfor*, *teolode*, *seofon*, *sefoða*, *cleopode*, etc.

NOTE 3. Leveling frequently takes place between *i* and *io*, *eo* in inflection; hence, on the one hand, forms like *teolian*, *cleopian*, and, on the other, such as *tilu*, fem. from *til*, *good*; plur. *clifu*, dat. *clifum*, from *clif*, *cliff* (241); pret. plur. *drifon*, *gripon*, etc. (376, note 1; 382), or pret. *tilode*, *bifode*, from *tilian*, *bifian*, *tremble*, etc.

NOTE 4. In LWS. *y* occurs in certain words for the otherwise stable *eo*, as in *syfon*, *sylfor*.

3) Before other single consonants *u*-umlaut of *i* does not regularly take place in pure WS.: *gemimor*,

familiar; *sinewealt* (from *sinu-*), *round*; *finule*, *fennel*; *sicor*, *certain*; *sicol*, *sickle*; *nigon*, *nine*; *higora*, *wood-pecker*, *-tigoða*, *-th* (in *twēntigoða*, *twentieth*, etc.); *huitol*, *addicted to butting*; *slidor*, *slippery*; *niðor*, *down*, etc. So in inflection: *brimu*, *limu*, *geflitu*, *hliðu*, *liðu*, dat. *brimum*, etc., from *brim*, *sea*; *lim*, *limb*; *geflit*, *strife*; *hlið*, *slope*; *lið*, *limb*; or *u*-stems like *sidu*, *custom*; *friðu-*, *peace* (in proper names like *Friðugār*); or feminines like *sinu*, *sinew*; *hnitu*, *nit*; *smiðu*, *smithy*; *stigu*, *sty*; or preterits plural like *stigon*, *rison* (382), or *sticode*, *smiðode* (from *stician*, *stick*, *smiðian*, *forge*), etc.

NOTE 5. Only quite sporadically do the EWS. texts have *io*, *eo* in these cases, and even then the dialect is hardly free from suspicion: *llomu*, *leomu*, *limbs*; *-tlogoða*, *-th*; *siðo*, *custom*; *nioðor*, *down*; *ðiosun*, *ðeosum*, *to this* (Cura Past.), *þiosan*, *þeosan*, *this* (Oros.). At a later period (*io*), *eo* is not hard to find in texts not strictly WS., especially in the poetry.

NOTE 6. Beside *i* and *io*, EWS. has occasionally *ie* and *y* in these cases: *geflietu*, plur. of *geflit*, *strife*; *nieðemest*, *the undermost*; or *ðysum*, *to this*; *nyðemest*; *hlynigan*, *lean* (Cura Past.). These *y*'s are not rare in LWS.

NOTE 7. A *u*-umlaut occurs in EWS. before consonant-combinations in the words *siendun*, *are*, beside *sindun* (427, note 1), and *ðiossum*, *to this*, beside *ðissum* (338); hence LWS. frequently *syndon* (and after this model *synd*, *synt*) and *þyssum* (to which conform *þysse*, etc.).

NOTE 8. Syncope of *u* (144, note 1) is probably indicated by the acc. sing. masc. *ðiosne* (338), *this* (LWS. *ðisne*, *ðysne*, with unstable *i*), perhaps from the basic form **þisuna*.

b) The o/a-umlaut

106. The *o/a* which produces this umlaut usually belongs to inflectional syllables, and often interchanges

with other vowels, (æ), e, i, as well as u, in the inflection of the same word. Compare, for example, paradigms like *dōm*, -es, -e; -as, -a, -um, or *hof*, -es, -e; -u, -a, -um (238), or *lōcian*, -ie; -as, -aŕ; -iaŕ; -ude (-ode) and -ade (414). Hence there is often leveling between the different phonetically regular forms of the same paradigm, the umlaut-vowels being generally leveled under those which had remained unaffected. There is consequently more difficulty in establishing fixed rules for the actual occurrence of the o/a-umlaut than for that of the u-umlaut.

107. 1) The West Germ. a suffers no o/a-umlaut in WS. (50; *sceaða*, *robber*; *sceacan*, *shake*, etc., belong under 76.2).

2) In like manner, West Germ. e undergoes in general no o/a-umlaut, not even before liquids and labials (101.3), nor after w: hence *fela*, *much*; adv. *tela*, *well*; *stela*, *stalk*; *wela*, *riches*; *bera*, *bear*; *nefa*, *nephew*; *sefa*, *mind*, like *plega*, *play*; -*breca*, *breaker*; or inf. *helan*, *conceal*; *beran*, *bear*, like *wefan*, *weave*; *cweðan*, *speak*; *metan*, *measure*, etc.

NOTE 1. Differently treated are *ceole*, obl. *ceolan*, *throat*, and *ceorlan*, *complain*; but these are probably rather to be referred to u-umlaut (*ceolan* for prehistoric **kelun*, cf. OHG. *kelūn*, and *ceorlan* like the pret. *ceorude*, -ode).

NOTE 2. Otherwise the umlaut eo for e appears only in texts less purely WS., especially often in the poetry; hence forms like inf. *heolan*, *beoran*, part. *beorende*; weak masculines like *weola*, *seofa*; adv. *feola*, *teola*, etc.

A collateral form *feala*, beside *fela* (*feola*), occurring also in prose, seems to have formed its vowel on the analogy of *fēawa*, *few* (301, note 1).

3) Original **wi** has in some cases become **wu** through o/a-umlaut (105. 1), but side by side occur more frequently **wio**, **wie**, and the unumlauted **wi**: **tuwa** (from ***twiwa**), *twice*; **wuta**, pl. **wutan**, *wise man* (from **wita**, -an), beside **wlotan** (**weotan**), **wietan**, **witan**, etc.

NOTE 3. In pure LWS. **u** is found only in **tuwa**, and in words where the o/a-umlaut is indistinguishable from the u-umlaut, as in gen. dat. **wuda**, beside nom. acc. **wudu**, *wood*, etc. Elsewhere **i** prevails: compare, for example, the weak masculines **wita**, *wise man*; **cwiða**, *womb*; **hwiða**, *breeze*; **swica**, *deceiver*; **wiga**, *warrior*; inf. **witan**, *know*, etc.

4) If no **w** precedes, original **i** before liquids and labials is normally converted by o/a-umlaut to EWS. **io**, later WS. **eo**: gen. plur. **hiora** (**heora**, beside an early **hiera**, later **hyra**, 334); **ondliofa**, **biliofa**, -**leofa**, *food*; * **cliofa**, **cleofa** (beside **clifa**, **clyfa**), *bedchamber*, etc.

NOTE 4. The umlaut is often set aside by analogy: **tillian**-**tilast**, -**að** (pret. **tiledede**), 416, note 14; **libban**-**lifast**, -**að** (416, note 2), beside **tillian** (**tiollian**)-**tiolast**, -**að**; **libban**-**lifast**, -**að** (**leofast**, -**að**); **clif**, **cliff**, gen. plur. **clifa**, etc.

5) Before other consonants than those mentioned, an o/a-umlaut of **i** is in general not found in pure WS.: **rima**, *border*; **prica**, *dot*; **bita**, *bit*; **cliða**, *poultice*; **pisu**, obl. **pisan**, *peas*; **cinu**, obl. **cinan**, *chink* (278); inf. **niman**, *take*, etc.

NOTE 5. An apparent contravention of this rule is furnished by such words as WS. **heonan**, *hence*; **beheonan**, *on this side of*; **neoðan**, **beneoðan**, *beneath* (for older **hionan**, etc.), beside **hinan**, **niðan**, **nyðan**; but more probably these are cases of u-umlaut.

Especially strange is **sioððan** (**seoððan**; **sleððan**, **siððan**, **syððan**), *after*, from ***siððon**, with shortening of the **i** (337, note 2).

NOTE 6. In other cases where **io**, **eo** occurs in words of this class, we must assume another dialect: **reoma**, *border*; **ondwleota**, *countenance*, etc.

f) THE SO-CALLED PALATAL UMLAUT

108. Before **c, g, h** the diphthongs **ĕa, ĕo, ĭo** may lose their second element, being thus simplified to **ĕ** (**ǣ**), **ĕ̃, ĭ̃**, or otherwise qualitatively altered. In the earlier editions of this book it was assumed that these changes rested on a 'palatalization' of the vowels, caused by a semipalatalization of the gutturals **c, g, h**, and hence this phenomenon was designated palatal umlaut. But that assumption being no longer tenable, at least in this form (see note 2), the name is also to be rejected; yet since we have no other convenient term by which to describe the phenomenon, the designation has here been retained for the nonce, its rather unsatisfactory character being indicated by prefixing the term 'so-called.'

In WS. the whole phenomenon is of slight importance, but in the Anglian dialects is developed to a considerable extent (161 ff.). The chief cases in WS. are the following:

1) In place of the **eo** and **io** produced from older **e** and **i** by breaking before **h** + consonant, there generally occur, apart from the exceptions noted in 83 and 84, the forms **ie** or unstable **i, y**: **siex** (**six, syx**), **six**; **cniht**, **boy**; **Pihtas** (**Pyhtas**), **Picts**, etc., for **seox**, **cneoht**, **Peohtas**; **wrixl**, **exchange**, for ***wrioxl**, which might have been expected; etc. (but cf. also 84. 1).

NOTE 1. The word 'right,' with its derivatives, is nearly always **ryht** in EWS. (so **ryhtan**, etc.), almost never **riht**. In LWS., however, the **i** becomes rather firmly established: **riht**, **rihtan**, etc.

2) **ea** and **ĕa** before **h** (**x = hs**), **g, c** become LWS. **e, ĕ̃**:

a) *seh, saw*; *sleh, blow*; *genehhe, abundantly*; *exl, shoulder*; *fex, hair*; *flex, flax*; *sex, knife*; *wexan, grow*, for EWS. *seah, sleah, geneahhe, eaxl, feax*, etc.

b) *nēh, near*; *tēh, drew*; *ðēh, though*; *hēhsta, highest*; *nēhsta, nearest*; *ēge, eye*; *bēg, ring*; *bēcen, sign*; *ēca, increase*; *lēc, locked*, for *nēah, tēah, ðēah, hēahsta, nēahsta, ēage, bēag, bēacen, ēaca, lēac*. Nevertheless, the traditional orthography *ea, ēa* is preserved even in some of the later texts which already exhibit *e, ē*.

NOTE 2. Actual palatal influence proceeds only from an *h, g, or c* which has been palatalized in some definite way — for example, by a following *i, j* in the case of *i*-umlaut, etc. Here belongs especially the influence which these sounds exert upon a preceding *ie*, or stable and unstable *y* (31, note).

109. A similar influence, exerted in the opposite direction, appears in the frequent LWS. transformation of *ea, ēa* into *e, ē* after *g, c, sc* (here really palatal, according to 206): *celf, calf*; *cerf, slice*; *gef, gave*; *get, got*; *get, gate*; *gēt, poured*; *cēs, chose*; *scēt, shot*; *gēr, year*; *ongēn, against*; *scēp, sheep*; *gescēd, discretion*, etc., for *cealf, cearf* (79 ff.), *geaf, geat* (75. 1), *gēat, cēas, scēat* (63), *gēar, ongēan, scēap, gescēad* (75. 2).

NOTE. This conversion rarely occurs in an open syllable before a guttural vowel, as in *gētan, they got*, for *gēaton* (75. 2). Usually the *ēa* in this position remains: thus, although LWS. has *gēr, scēp*, the gen. dat. plur. is mostly *gēara, -um*; *scēapa, -um*.

g) HIATUS AND CONTRACTION

110. 1) Hiatus within the word is not favored by OE. Hence, whenever a stressed vowel or diphthong collides with an unstressed vowel, whether in consequence of the

vocalization of a semivowel (w), or of the loss of certain consonants (notably h, less frequently w and j) from the interior of a word, or from any other cause, contraction to a diphthong or long vowel usually takes place.

NOTE 1. It is no exception to this rule, that inflectional endings beginning with a vowel are, in some cases, attached to stems ending in a vowel, as in *hēaum*, dat. sing. of *hēah*, *high*; *Swēoum*, dat. plur. of *Swēon*, *the Swedes*. The shorter forms, like *hēam*, *Swēom*, which almost always run parallel with them, show that the fuller endings have been subsequently appended, after the analogy of stems ending in a consonant.

NOTE 2. Since within a paradigm there often occur forms with and without contraction, leveling not infrequently takes place. Thus, for example, beside the older nom. sing. *clēa* (111. 1), there appears the later nom. *clawu*, formed on the analogy of the oblique cases, like gen. dat. acc. sing. *clawe*; on the contrary, oblique forms like *clēa* (for **clēae*) are framed like the nom. *clēa*, so that finally two full paradigms, *clēa* — *clēa*, and *clawu* — *clawe*, run parallel to each other (cf. also 111, note 1).

NOTE 3. The contractions occasioned by early vocalization or loss of w belong to the Prim. OE. stage; those wrought by the loss of h, together with certain others, arose at a later period. Not only do the oldest texts frequently exhibit uncontracted forms, but they must also be largely postulated for the poetry, as is shown by metrical considerations (cf. Beitr. 10. 475 ff.).

NOTE 4. Collision of unstressed + stressed vowel results, not in contraction, but in the elision of the former: thus unstressed e in forms like *b-æftan*, *behind*; *b-ufan*, *above*; *b-ūtan*, *outside*, for *be-æftan*, *be-u-fan*, *be-ū-tan*; so in the negated verbs *n-abban* (415); *n-ellan*, *n-yllan* (428, note 2); *n-ytan* (420); add *n-istig*, *fasting*, from *wist*, *food*, etc.

2) The form which immediately preceded a given contraction is not always to be determined with complete certainty. Hence we shall, in all doubtful cases, here print the Germ. or West Germ. form for the sound which begins the combination.

The following cases occur in WS.:

111. 1) Orig. *a* + *u* (from *wu* or vocalized *w*) becomes *ēa* (through Prim. OE. *au*): *θrēa*, *threat*; *clēa*, *claw*, from **pra(w)u*, **kla(w)u* (beside the analogically formed Ep. *thrauu*, WS. *clawu*); then, with restoration of the *w* from the polysyllabic case-forms: *strēaw*, *straw*; *hrēaw*, *raw*, for *strēa*, *hrēa*, from **straw*, **strau*, etc.

NOTE 1. As the original declension of words like *strēaw* we must postulate nom. *strēa*, gen. **strawes*, etc., after which leveling supervened, as in *clēa*—*clawe* (110, note 2). A possible accord with uncontracted forms appears in the compound *strawberie*, *strawberry*, beside *strēa(w)berie*.

For forms like *strēow* see 119, note.

NOTE 2. Here probably belongs *pēa*, *peacock*, which perhaps (in contrast with the parallel form *pāwa* = Lat. *pāvo*) goes back to Prim. OE. oblique forms like acc. **pa(w)un*, from Low Lat. *pāvōnem*, with shortened vowel.

2) Orig. *ah* + vowel becomes *ēa*, after the loss of the *h* (probably through *eah* + vowel, 84, note 2). Here belong especially the contract verbs *lēan*, *flēan*, *slēan*, *θwēan* (392. 2), for **la(h)an*, etc.; 1 sing. *lēa*, *slēa*, for **la(h)u*, etc.; opt. *lēa*, *slēa*, for **lahe*, etc.; *gefēa*, *joy*, for **gifaho*; *ēa*, *water*, for **ah(w)u*, **ahu* (compare Goth. *ahwa*); *ēar*, *ear of grain*; *tēar*, *tear*, for **ahur*, **tahur*, etc.

112. Orig. *æh* + vowel becomes, after loss of *h*, OE. *ēa* (probably through *ēah* + vowel, 84, note 2): *nēan*, *from the vicinity*; *nēar*, *nearer*, for **næhun*, **næhur*.

NOTE 1. The stem **klāwā*-, *claw*, appears in the poetry in the two forms *clā* and *clēo* (on *clēa*, from the parallel stem **klāwā*-, see 111. 1). Unchanged *æ* = Germ. *æ* occurs in *bræw*, *brow*.

NOTE 2. In LWS. the OE. *æ* + *w* terminating a syllable passes into *ēa* in *brēaw*, *brow*, for **brēa* from *brǣw* (note 1); hence comes the plur. *brēawas*, etc. (113, note 3; 118, note 2).

113. 1) Orig. *e* + *u* from *wu* or vocalized *w* becomes *ēo* (through Prim. OE. *eu*): *ṭēo*, *servant*; *cnēo*, *knee*; *trēo*, *tree*, for **pew*, **peu*, etc.; more frequently, with borrowing of the *w* from the polysyllabic case-forms: *ṭēow*, *cnēow*, *trēow*.

NOTE 1. Occasionally EWS. has *io* for this *ēo*, especially in MS. H of Cura Past.: *ṭiow*, etc.

2) Orig. *eh* + vowel becomes, after the loss of *h* (probably through older *ioh*, beside *eoh*, 84, note 2), EWS. *io*, beside *ēo*, WS. *ēo*. Hence WS. forms like the contract verbs *gefēon*, *rejoice*; *plēon*, *risk*; *sēon*, *see* (391. 2), from **-fehan*, etc.; 1 sing. *gefēo*, from ind. **-fehu*, opt. **-fehæ*, etc.; then *feoh*, *cattle* — gen. *fēos*, dat. *fēo*, etc. (242); *sēo*, *pupil*, gen. *sēon*; *swēor*, *father-in-law*; *tēoḏa*, *tenth*; *tēontig*, *hundred*, from **seha*, **swehur*, **tehu(n)po*, **tehuntig*, etc.

NOTE 2. Obscure vocalism is exhibited by EWS. *tien*, infl. *tīene*, *ten*; WS. *tȳn*, *tȳne*, beside *tēn*, *tēne*.

NOTE 3. The final *ēw* of a syllable is often transformed in LWS. to *ēow* (instead of *ēo*, from *ēu*, cf. 112, note 2; 118, note 2); *flēowḏ*, *hlēowḏ*, *spēowḏ*, instead of *flēwḏ*, etc. (371, note).

114. 1) Orig. *i* + *u* becomes, through Prim. and Early OE. *iū*, EWS. *io* (beside rarer *ēo*), then WS. *ēo*: pron. *hio*, *sio* (334; 337), WS. *hēo*, *sēo* (from **hi* + *u*, **si* + *u*, by the addition of the feminine ending *-u*); nom. acc. plur. neut. *ṭrīo*, *ṭrēo*, *three* (324), from **pri(j)u* (Goth. *prija*).

2) Orig. *ī* + orig. *a*, *ō* blends into a diphthong which fluctuates greatly in EWS. between *ēo* and *io*, but appears in WS. as *ēo*: EWS. *dīofol*, WS. *dēofol*, *devil*, from Lat. *diabolus*; *frēo* (*frīo*), *free*, and its derivatives, from the stem **fri(j)a-*; *frēog(e)an*, *love*; *fēog(e)an*, *hate*, beside the nouns *frēond*, *friend*; *fēond*, *enemy*; then *blēo*, *color*; *frēo*, *lady*; *Swēon*, *Swedes*; *bēo*, *bee*; *pēo*, *an insect*; *cēo*, *chough*; presumably also *bēon*, *bion* (compare Lat. *fio*), 427. 2.

NOTE 1. Whether *bēot*, *boast*; *frēols*, *freedom*, from **bi-hāt*, **fri-hals*, belong here or under No. 3, can not be decided.

Hardly here belongs the pret. *ēode*, *went* (430), as in this case we have no *io*-forms (compare also North. *ēade* L., *ēode* R.², not **iode*).

3) Orig. *ih* + vowel becomes (presumably through broken *ioh*, *ēoh*, 84, note 2) EWS. *io*, beside more frequent *ēo*, WS. *ēo*. Here belong the contract verbs *tēon*, *ðēon*, *wrēon*, *lēon*, *sēon* (383), from *tīhan*, etc.; pres. 1 sing. *tēo*, *ðēo*, etc., from ind. **tīhu*, opt. **tīhæ*; then *twēo*, *doubt*, from **twiho*, beside derivatives like *twēog(e)an*, *twēonian*, *doubt*; and perhaps a few others (cf. also note 1).

4) *ī* + *e* gives *ie*, later *i*, *y*, in *sīe*, *be*, from **si(j)æ*; presumably also in the masc. *ðrīe*, *three*, and the pronoun *hīe*, *they*, *her* (nom. plur. masc. and acc. sing. fem., 324; 334; 337), LWS. *sȳ*, *ðrȳ*, *hȳ* (beside frequent disyllabic *sīe* in the poetry).

NOTE 2. The dialectic occasional forms *sēo* (427, notes 2 and 3) and *hēo* (334), beside *sīe*, *hīe*, can not be explained with certainty.

115. OE. *ō* + vowel becomes *ō*: *scōh*, *shoe*, nom. acc. plur. *scōs*, from **scōhas* (242); the contract verbs *fōn*,

hōn, from **fōhan** (for **fāhan** with nasalized **ā**, 395.1); pres. 1 sing. **fō**, **hō**, from ind. ***fōhu**, opt. ***fōhæ**; then **θō**, *clay* (early **thōhæ**, Ep.); **hōh**, *heel*, gen. **hōs**; **wōh**, *perverse*, gen. **wōs**, dat. **wōm**, nom. sing. fem. **wō** (295, note 1), etc.

NOTE. i-umlaut yields **ē**: 2 and 3 sing. **dēs**, **dēθ**, *dost, does*, from ***dōis**, ***dōip**; dialectic participle **dēn**, *done*, from ***dōin** (429), etc.

For LWS. **ēow** from **ēw**, see 113, note 3.

116. Orig. **ū** + vowel remains unchanged in **scua**, beside **scuwa**, *shadow*, and generally in **būan**, *build*, and its derivatives.

NOTE. When **e** or **u** follows, contraction now and then occurs: opt. pres. plur. **būn**, past part. **gebūn**, beside **-būen**; gen. sing. **cū**, **cūs**, beside **cūe** (gen. plur. **cūa**), *cow* (284, note 4); **θrūm**, dat. plur. of **θrūh**, *coffin*.

To Goth. **trauan** corresponds OE. **trūwian**, with internal **w** (unlike OE. **būan** = Goth. **bauan**). A similar **w** appears in the oblique cases of **rūh**, *raw*, gen. **rūwes**, etc. (295, note 1).

117. 1) OE. **ȳ** + **i**, **e** contracts to **ȳ**: **drȳs**, **drȳ**, gen. dat. sing. of **drȳ**, *magician*, from ***drȳes**, ***drȳe**; 3 sing. **θrȳθ**, pret. **θrȳde**, from ***prȳ(h)ip**, ***prȳ(h)ida**, from **θrȳn**, *press*.

2) OE. **ȳ** + guttural vowel becomes WS. **ēo** in **rēo**, *covering*, obl. **rēon**, from older **rȳhæ** Ep. (presumably following the oblique cases, like gen. ***rȳhan**, etc.).

NOTE. Forms like **θrȳn**, *press*; **tȳn**, *teach* (408, note 18), for ***prȳhan**, etc., are therefore probably patterned after inflectional forms like 2 and 3 sing. **θrȳs**, **θrȳθ**, pret. **θrȳde** (No. 1, above), and such as **drȳas**, **drȳa**, **drȳum**, nom. gen. dat. plur. of **drȳ**, must be regarded as new formations according to 110, note 1.

118. 1) Orig. **ai** (= OE. **ā**) + vowel becomes **ā**:

a) **ā** + **u** from vocalized **w**: **ā** (Goth. **aiw**), *always*, and occasional forms like **snā**, *snow*; **hrā**, *corpse*, for which more frequently occur **snāw**, **hrāw**, etc., with restoration of the **w** from the polysyllabic cases (but cf. also 134. d);

b) **āh** + vowel: **rā**, *roe*; **gefā**, *foe*; **slā**, *sloe*; **tā**, *toe*, for **rāha** Corp., ***gifāha**, ***slāhæ**, ***tāhæ**, obl. **rān**, **gefān**, **slān**, **tān**, beside new formations like **tāan**, **tāum** (278, note 2), etc.

NOTE 1. Certain scholars assume a change from **ā** + **u** to **ēa** in the etymologically very obscure **wēa**, *woe*, obl. **wēan**, which is referred to ***wā(w)un** (compare OHG. OS. **wēwo**).

2) In case of **i**-umlaut appears **æ**:

a) for orig. **ā** + **i**: 2 and 3 sing. **gæst**, **gæð**, from **gā-is**, etc. (430);

b) for orig. **ā(w)i**: **æ**, *law*; **sæ**, *sea*; **hræ**, *corpse*; add gen. **sæs**, dat. **sæ**, for ***sæes**, ***sæe**; gen. dat. acc. **æ**, for ***æe**, etc.

NOTE 2. The final **æw** of a syllable, derived from **aiw**, often becomes LWS. **ēaw** (112, note 2; 113, note 3): **ēawfest**, *religious*, beside **æwfæst**; **hrēaw**, *corpse* (likewise inflected, gen. **hrēawes**, etc.), for earlier **hræw**, **hrāw**.

119. The diphthongs **ea**, **eo**, **io**, and **ēa**, **ēo**, **īo**, whatever their origin, absorb a following vowel. Beside the instances given in 111. 2; 113. 2; 114. 3, compare, for example, cases like **hēah**, *high*, gen. **hēas**, nom. plur. **hēa**, dat. **hēam**, weak nom. sing. masc. **sé hēa**, for ***hēa(h)es**, ***hēa(h)e**, ***hēa(h)um**, ***hēa(h)a**, etc.; or

the contract verbs *tēon*, *draw*; *flēon*, *flee* (384), from **tēohan*, etc.; ind. 1 sing. *tēo*, *flēo*, from ind. **teuhu*, opt. **teuhæ*, etc.

For new formations, like *hēaum*, beside *hēam*; *smēaung*, *reflection*; *ðrēaung*, *threatening*; *fioung*, *fēoung*, *hate*, beside older *smēang*, *ðrēang*, *fēong*, etc., see 110, note 1.

NOTE. The *ēaw* terminating a syllable frequently becomes LWS. *ēow*: *strēow*, *straw*, for *strēaw* (111); pret. *hrēow*, *rued*, for *hrēaw* (384, note 2).

3. VARIATIONS OF QUANTITY

120. Thus far it has been tacitly assumed that the quantity of the West Germ. vowels was retained in OE., except where the appearance of contraction, ecthliipsis, or the like, leads to the assumption of a change of quantity. However, by a comparison of the later development of the language with the indications of length furnished by the manuscripts (gemination, and especially accent, **ß**), we are led to the conclusion that a number of changes in the original quantities of vowels (particularly lengthening), hitherto usually referred to later periods of the language, do, in reality, date from OE.

We are not yet in a position to determine with entire accuracy the extent of these changes in detail; for, on the one hand, the indications of quantity in the manuscripts are but scanty; and, on the other, the editors of OE. texts have either reproduced these indications inaccurately, or entirely ignored them.

NOTE. According to Sweet (who was the first after Bouterwek (North. Evang., p. CXIV) to call special attention to the indications

of quantity in the manuscripts; compare Proceedings of the Philological Society, April 16, 1880, and June 3, 1881), the following editions are trustworthy in this regard: Kemble and Skeat's Gospels, Goodwin's Guðlac, and Sweet's edition of the Cura Pastoralis and of the Lauderdale MS. of Orosius.

The formulation of precise laws of quantity is rendered more difficult by the circumstance that the phenomena in question vary, in regard to extent and period of occurrence, with the individual dialect. Such being the case, we are obliged to content ourselves with very general statements.

a) Lengthening

121. Final vowels of stressed monosyllables appear as long: *hwā*, *who*, from **hwa*-(r) (Goth. *hwas*); *swā*, *so* (Goth. *swa*); *sē*, *the* (Goth. *sa*); *hē*, *he*; *wē*, *we*; *gē*, *ye*; *mē*, *me*; *þē*, *thee*, from **hē*-(r), *wē*-(r), **mē*-(r), etc. (compare Goth. *i*-s, *mi*-s, etc.); *nē*, *not* (Goth. *ni*); *bi* (*big*, 24, note), *by* (Goth. *bi*); *nū*, *now*; *þū*, *thou* (Goth. *nu*, *þu*); and so probably the proclitic *a*-, inseparable prefix (for *ar*-, Goth. *us*-, OHG. *ar*-, etc.).

NOTE. This does not, however, preclude the assumption that these words, when used as enclitics in the spoken language, were sometimes shortened in pronunciation; compare especially *be*, beside *bi*, and the inseparable *ge*-, older *gi*- (Goth. *ga*-), which is never lengthened.

122. There is a tendency to lengthen monosyllabic words ending in a single consonant. Under this head fall the following adverbs and particles, which are in part enclitic: *āc*, *but*; *āf*-, *from* (for example in *āfweard*, *absent*, *āfwierdelsa*, *injury*); *ōf*, *of*; *ōn*, *on* (also as a proclitic form of *ond*, as in *ōn-drædan*, *fear*; *ōn-gietan*, *understand*); *ōr*-, Lat. *ex*-, as in *ōrsorg*, *careless*; *ūn*-,

un-, as in *ūnriht*, *wrong*; *ūp*, *ūpp*, *up*; *in*, *in*; *mīd*, *with*; *gīf*, *if*. Furthermore, in *wēl*, *well*, *bēt*, *better*; the pronouns *īc*, *I*; *ṭhæt*, *that*; *hwæt*, *what*; instr. *ṭhōn*, *hwōn*; the copula *īs*, *is*; besides nouns like *fæt*, *vat*; *wēg*, *way*; *wēr*, *man*; *clif*, *cliff*; *lōf*, *praise*; *gebōd*, *mandate*; adjectives like *hōl*, *hollow*; verbal forms like the preterits *bræc*, *broke*; *sæt*, *sat*, etc.

This tendency extends even to words whose final consonant has been simplified from an original geminate. Thus we meet with *mōn*, *mān*, *man*, plur. *mēn*; *cān*, *can*; *ēal*, *all*; *gewīt*, *intellect*; *cȳn*, *kin*, gen. *mōnnes*, *ealles*, *gewittes*, etc.; then forms like *gesēt*, *set*, from *gesetted*, *gesett*; *sīt*, *sits*; *ongīt*, *understands*; *forgīt*, *forgets*, instead of *siteṭ*, *ongiteṭ*, etc.

123. Much less pronounced is the tendency to prolong a short vowel before a single consonant in disyllabic and polysyllabic words; instances of *ōfer*, *over*, are frequent, and already in Cura Past. occur forms like *fātu* (plur. of *fæt*), *rāce* (dat. sing. of *racu*), *stāefe* (dat. sing. of *stæf*), *fāre* (opt. 3 sing. of *faran*), *ṭhōne*, *the*, *ōpene*, *gāderaṭ*, etc.

124. The vowels which precede consonant groups are also frequently lengthened. In this respect there is the widest discrepancy between one text and another:

1) before nasal + consonant any vowel is subject to lengthening: *hānd*, *hōnd*, *hand*; *lōnd*, *land*; *wāmb*, *wōmb*, *womb*; *wāng*, *wōng*, *field*; *ēnde*, *end*; *sēndan*, *send*; *bīndan*, *bind*; *sīncan*, *sink*; *stīncan*, *smell*; *gesūnd*, *sound*; *būndon*, *(they) bound*; *mūnt*, *mountain*; *stūnta*, *blockhead*; *drūncen*, *drunken*, etc.

2) Before *r* + consonant : *ārn*, *q̄rn*, *ran* ; *bāernan*, *burn* ; *irnan*, *run* ; *cīrm*, *uproar* ; *wōrd*, *word* ; *hōrd*, *hoard* ; *ūrnnon*, (*they*) *ran* ; *wȳrd*, *destiny* ; *gēard*, *house* ; *ēart*, *thou art* ; *scēort*, *short*.

3) Before *l* + consonant : especially *ā* (for broken *ea*, 80), as in *āld*, *old*, *sālde*, *gave* ; but also *milde*, *mild* ; *gōld*, *gold* ; *geðȳld*, *patience* ; *scȳld*, *guilt*, etc.

NOTE 1. None of the prolongations in 1-3 is to be found in Cura Past., if we may judge from the lack of accents (except the isolated *ūnder*, Cura Past. 33. 7 ; *suīngan*, 253. 2 ; *hierstinge*, 165. 3), and they are also rare in the Lauderdale Orosius ; on the other hand, they are abundant in LWS. texts, like Ælfric's Homilies, etc. In the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels they form the rule,

NOTE 2. The prolongations appear earliest and most frequently before nasal or liquid + sonant ; yet combinations whose second element is a surd are not excluded, as is evident from the examples adduced above. Prolongation does not seem to be caused by *ll* in WS., though it has that effect in North., as in *ālle*, *all*.

NOTE 3. In the editions of texts it is the custom to retain the instances of these lengthenings as they occur in the manuscripts. For grammatical purposes it is the part of prudence to distinguish assumed secondary lengthenings from etymological length by the acute (the original German recommends the macron ; cf. 8, and notes).

b) Shortening

125. As the accents which denote length are comparatively rare, it is not easy to determine with certainty when shortening has taken place. The vowel seems, however (according to Sweet), to be short in *ṭōhte*, *brōhte*, *sōhte*, from *ṭōhte*, *brōhte*, *sōhte* (407. 1) ; yet compare, for example, *hōehtnisse*, Rush. Matt. 5. 10 = WS. *ēhtnisse* (68, note 2).

Before other consonant combinations than *h* + consonant, shortening does not appear, in general, to have

taken place; compare such forms as **Crist**, **gāst**, **mæst**, **gitsian**, **witnian**, **fiftig**, **lædde**, etc.

II. THE VOWELS OF MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES

126. Only such cardinal phenomena will here be considered as it is necessary to understand before approaching the subject of inflections. The details will be treated at length under the latter head.

A. ABLAUT

127. *Original ablaut.* Even in the original Indo-European, inflection was often accompanied by a definite variation or gradation in the vowels of certain suffixes (*suffixal ablaut*). Thus we frequently encounter the ablaut series **e** : **o** : **0**, the first two terms appearing, for example, in Lat. *generis*, *genus*; Gr. *γένος*, *γένεος* for **γεγεσος*, etc. The **e** of the suffix has, as it would seem, always become **i** in Germ. (45, note 1), while **o** became **a** (45.4). In place of the third or zero stage, a **u** frequently occurs (so, for example, in the ablaut of the verb before a liquid or nasal) as a substitute for the lost vowel.

These gradations are, for the most part, no longer fully preserved in OE.; as a rule, the vowel of one stage has been introduced into all the forms of the same word; only now and then do double forms, still preserved, point to the regular interchange which formerly existed. In particular, the **i**-umlaut of a stem

sometimes enables us to infer the previous existence of an *e* or *i* in the following syllable.

NOTE BY TRANSLATOR. Ablaut, sometimes called vowel-gradation, is a variation of vowel among words of the same Indo-European root, as in English *sing, sang, sung*, and Greek *λείπω, λείποιτα, ἔλιπον*, which depends upon causes no longer active or discernible in the separate languages of the family. The phenomena of ablaut, as they appear in the Germanic or other Indo-European languages, are simply inheritances from the Parent Speech. The conditions which produced the phenomena of ablaut can be discerned only by reference, through the methods of comparative linguistics, to the original Indo-European language. The relation, for instance, of German

- | | |
|--------|-------------------------------|
| (1) | ziehen, zog, gezogen |
| to (2) | binden, band, gebunden |

is clearer in the Gothic

- | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|
| (1) | tiuhan, tauh, tōhans, |
| (2) | bindan, band, bundans, |

but is not evident until the systems are reduced to the Indo-European form :

- | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|
| (1) | deuk, douk, duk, |
| (2) | bhendh, bhondh, bhndh. |

These two systems are illustrated in Greek by

- | | |
|-----|---|
| (1) | ἐ-λεύ(θ)-σομαι, εἰλή-λουθ-α, ἤ-λυθ-ον, |
| (2) | ἐ-γέν-ετο, γέ-γον-α, γί-γν-ομαι. |

The ablaut of German *giessen, goss, gegossen* corresponds to Gothic *glutan, gaut, gutum*, and Greek *χέω, χορή, κέχυται*.

The explanation of ablaut is to be found in the peculiar conditions of word- and sentence-accent in the Indo-European Parent Speech. Thus, by the withdrawal of the stress, the original root-elements *ei, eu, el, er, en, es*, etc., were reduced to *i, u, l, r, n, s*, etc. Thus Greek *εἶμι, ἔμην* (orig. **imén*), compare Skr. *émi, imás*. So *χεύμα, χυτός; φεύγω, φυγεῖν; πείθω, πείσθαι; φίδομαι, φίδειν; δέρεται, δρακεῖν* (*r > pa*); *αἶθω, ἰθαρός*, etc. The cause of differentiation between the *e*-grade and the *o*-grade is not so definitely determined (*λέγω, λόγος; νόμος, νόμος; λείπω, λείποιτα; δέρομαι, δέδορκα*; Gothic *steigan, stalg*; English *sing, sang*, etc.), but it most probably had its origin in a

variety of musical pitch — that is, the e-grade occurred with stress and high pitch, the o-grade with stress and lowered pitch.

The above is condensed from an article on ablaut by Benjamin I. Wheeler in Johnson's Universal Encyclopædia, to which the student is referred.

128. The most important ablaut-changes, thus deducible, which have left perceptible traces in OE., are the following :

1) Before original *s* (Germ. *z*, OE. *r*, but often lost when final) in the neut. suffix *-os*, *-es* (as in *γένος*, *genus*), Germ. *-az*, *-iz* ; see the examples in 288 ff. The *i*-stage is found in forms like *sige*, *bere*, older *sigi*, *beri*, from **sigiz*, **bariz* (182) : or North. *lomb*, Ps. North. *cælf*, from **lambiz*, *kalbiz* (182 ; 133. *b*). Parallel with the latter are WS. *lomb*, *cealf*, without umlaut, and the longer forms like *sigor*, *hrōðor*, *lombor*, etc. (182, note).

2) Before *n* in the suffix *-ono*, *-eno*, Germ. *-ana*, *-ina*, of the past participle of strong verbs. The *i*-stage is preserved in a few umlaut forms like *ægen*, *cymen* (378, note 1).

NOTE 1. The gradation was at one time especially apparent in the suffix of the weak declension, *-en*, *-on*, *-n*, Germ. *-in*, *-an*, *-un*, but has been almost entirely obliterated in OE., the *i*-stage in particular (as in Goth. *hanins*, *hanin*) being totally effaced.

3) Before *l* in the suffix *-olo*, *-elo* (Germ. *-ala* = Prim. OE. *-ul*), *-ila*. The two stages are recognizable in double forms like *dēagol* and *dīegol*, *secret*, from the basic forms **daugola-* and **daugila-*.

4) Before *r*, more particularly in the suffix of nouns of relationship ; for these in detail cf. 285.

NOTE 2. Even foreign words are frequently recast to bring them into conformity with the suffixal ablaut of OE.: thus OE. *fæcele*, *torch*, points to older **faklla*, an ablauted form from Lat. *facula*. On the other hand, Lat. *i*, *e*, *a* is not seldom represented by *u*, *o*: *persoc*, *peach*; *esol*, *ass*; *butor*, *butter*; *munuc*, *monk*, from Lat. *persicum*, *asilus*, *butirum*, *monachus*, etc.

129. *Later ablaut.* Beside these older gradations, others of more recent date have sprung up in OE. itself, presumably depending upon the variable strength of the secondary ictus, but also in part upon the vowels of the adjacent syllables (a certain principle of alternation between palatals and gutturals being observed in the sequence of vowels). In particular, there is a tendency to convert the *o*, *u*, of a final syllable into *e*, whenever the word is increased by a syllable taking the secondary stress, and containing *a*, *o*, or *u*. Thus we generally have *roðor*, *heaven*; *heorot*, *hart*; *staðol*, *foundation*; the gen. dat. sing. *roðores*, *heorotes*, *staðoles*, *-e*; while the plur. is usually *roðeras*, *heoretas*, *staðelas*, *-u*, *-um*, the verb *staðelian*, etc. Here belongs also the vowel-change in the preterit of the Second Class of weak verbs, like *sealfode*, plur. *sealfedon* (412), and no doubt originally in the abstracts ending in *-ung*, *-ing*, etc.

B. APOCOPE OF FINAL VOWELS

130. Indo-European *a*, *o* (Germ. *a*), when final, disappears entirely: *on*, Germ. (Goth.) *ana*, Gr. *ἀνά*; *æf*, unstressed *of*, *qf*, Germ. *aba*, Gr. *ἀπό*, etc. In particular, many examples might be adduced of the nom. acc. sing. of the *o*-stems (235 ff.), basic forms *-oz*, *-o(m)*.

The *o* has been retained in cases of early contraction, as in *frio*, *frēo*, *free*, stem *frijo-* (297, note 2).

NOTE. A syllabic *i* preceding the *a*, *o* (45. 8) becomes final without change, and afterwards passes into *e* (44): *ende*, *rīce* (246), earlier *endi*, *rīci*, from **andla*, **rīkla*, etc.

131. The originally final *-e* also disappears completely, and without leaving any trace of its influence upon the vowel of the preceding syllable. The chief instances are:

1) the voc. sing. masc. of the *o*-stems, like *dōm* (238), compare Gr. *λόγε*;

2) the imp. sing. of strong verbs, like *bær*, *help* (367), compare Gr. *φέρε*;

3) the ind. pret. 3 sing. of strong verbs, like *bær* (367), *wāt* (420), compare Gr. *οἶδε*.

e before any consonant that was retained in Germanic was changed, probably in the Germ. period, to *i* (45. 2, note 1), and its subsequent history is that of the latter sound.

132. Original *i* and *u* were uniformly preserved in Prim. OE. To these were added a secondary *i* and *u*, arising partly through a change of quality (such as that which led to the development of *i* from *e* before consonants, 131), and in part produced by a shortening of the corresponding final long vowels, *ī*, *ō*; or, in the case of *u*, by a vocalization of consonantal *w*. These various *ī*'s and *ū*'s of Prim. OE. were all subject to the same rules of apocope, apocope being determined partly by the quantity of the immediately preceding radical syllable (when the word was originally disyllabic)

and partly by the number of syllables in the word. The principal cases may be classified as follows:

133. Prim. OE. *i* is preserved after a short radical syllable, first as *i*, and afterwards as *e* (44); it disappears after a long radical syllable, and as the final of words containing more than two syllables:

a) Original *i*, for example in the nom. acc. sing. of the *i*-stems (compare Gr. *πόλις*, *-ιν*): of short stems, the noun *wini*, *wine* (262), adj. *bryci*, *bryce* (302 ?); of long stems, the noun *wyrm* (265). Other cases of apocope are: the dat.-loc. sing. of consonant stems, like *fēt*, from **fōti* (281; compare Gr. *ποδί*); among polysyllables, *hrōðor* (289), *guman*, *heortan*, *tungan* (276); datives plur. like *ðæm*, *twæm*, basic forms **þaimiz*, etc.; comparative adverbs like *lēng* (323), basic form **langiz* (compare Lat. *magis*, and for the loss of the *z* see 182). Of verbs: the ind. 1 sing. of the verbs in *-mi* (426 ff.), like *dōm*, *do*; and the ind. 2 and 3 sing. and 3 plur. of all verbs, like 2 sing. *hlipis*, *-es(t)*, 3 sing. *hlip(e)ð*, 3 plur. *helpað*, their basic forms ending in *-isi*, *-lpi*, *-anþi* (compare Skr. *bhārasī*, *-ati*, *-anti*, from *√bher*, *bear*).

b) Prim. OE. *i* from original *e*, for example in the nom. plur. of consonant stems, like *hnyte*, *styde* (282), and *fēt*, *mȳs* (281), from **hnutiz*, **hnutez*; **fōtiz*, **fōtez*, etc. (compare Gr. *πόδες*); so also in the polysyllables: *guman*, *tungan* (276). Finally, in the nom. acc. sing. of the neuter *es*-stems: short stems, *bere*, *sig*e (Goth. *bariz-*, *sigis*); long stems, Ps. North. *cælf*, *calf*; North. *lēmb*, *lamb*, etc. (288 ff.).

c) Prim. OE. **i** from original **ī** no doubt existed in the imp. sing. of verbs with thematic **jo** (372; 398. 1; compare Goth. **hafei**, **nasei**, **sōkei**, etc.): with short stem, **hefe**, **nefe**, etc. (367; 409); with long stem, **sēc**, **hīer**, etc. (409). The **i** has regularly disappeared in the nom. sing. of the long and polysyllabic **iā**-stems, like **gierd** (257), and **gyden**, **wiergen** (258. 1). Every other final Germanic **ī** is preserved in OE., even after a long syllable, in the form of **i**, **e**: thus in the opt. pret. 3 sing. of strong verbs like **hulpe** (basic form ***hulpī**, Goth. **hulpi**); or in the instr.-loc. sing. of **o**-stems like **dōme**, older **dōmī** (from ***dōmī**, compare Gr. **ἐκεῖ**). Yet in the so-called dative **hām** (237, note 2) we perhaps have the regularly developed locative case of a long **o**-stem, the **-i**, **-e** of the other forms being then due to the analogy of the short stems.

NOTE 1. Exceptions to the rules for apocope are presented by the adverb **bēt**, *better* (Goth. **battis**), for which we should expect ***bēte**; and by the adverb **ymbē** (beside **ymb**), with the **e** preserved.

NOTE 2. Even when the **i** is lost, there is **i**-umlaut of the stem-syllable which immediately preceded. The only exceptions are the verbal forms **eom**, **dōm**, plur. **dōð** (for ***dōnpi**).

134. Prim. OE. **u** is retained as **-u**, **-o** in originally disyllabic words after a short stem, but disappears after a long stem:

a) Germ. **u**, for example in the nom. acc. sing. of the **u**-stems: in the short-stemmed nouns, masc. **sunu**, fem. **duru**, neut. **feolu** (270; 274; 275), adj. **cucu** (303); in the long-stemmed nouns, masc. **feld**, fem. **hond** (272; 274), adj. **heard** (303, note 2). Of all these the basic forms end in **-uz**, **-u(m)**, **-u** (compare Goth. **sunus**, **-u**, **filu**, etc.).

b) Prim. OE. *u* from Germ. *ō* = orig. *ā*, for example in the nom. sing. fem. of the *ā*-stems: thus in the short-stemmed *giefu*, adj. *hwatu*; in the long-stemmed *ār*, *gōd* (252; 293; compare Gr. *χόρᾱ*, etc.); or in the nom. acc. plur. neut. of the *o*-stems, as in the short-stemmed noun *fatu*, adj. *hwatu*, and the long-stemmed noun *word*, adj. *gōd* (238; 293).

c) Prim. OE. *u* from Germ. *ō* = orig. *ō* appeared in the ind. pres. 1 sing. of the verb, and there became permanent, even after long stems: thus *beoru*, *faru*, but also *helpu*, *bindu*. This *u* has, however, been almost completely displaced in West Saxon by the optative termination *-e* (355).

NOTE. The *j* which originally preceded (45. 8) does not prevent the apocope; hence *sibb* (257), *cynn* (246), etc., from **sibb(j)u*, **cynn(j)u*. For the effect of a preceding *i* (45. 8) see 135. 3.

d) Prim. OE. *u* from vocalized *w* (137; 174. 2, 3): for example nom. *bearu*, *bealu* (249), *gearu* (300) (the feminines like *beadu*, and the long-stemmed *mæd*, *læs* (260), stand for **bad(w)u*, **mæd(w)u*, from *-o*, etc., according to 173. 1; 134. b).

135. In words of three or more syllables, the treatment of the final *u* is somewhat variable. It is regularly cast off in trisyllabic words having the radical and the middle syllable both short, but is retained after a long radical and short middle syllable. After a long middle syllable it appears to be regularly lost. The principal cases are the following:

1) Feminines of the *a*-declension: short stems, like *firen* = Goth. *fairina*, or *tigol*, from Lat. *tegula* (254. 2);

of the long stems, the abstract nouns with the termination -**ðu**, Goth. -**īpa**, like **strengðu** (255. 3). The abstract nouns in -**ung**, on the other hand, always lose the **u** without regard to their quantity: **mōnung**, *warning*; **lēasung**, *leasing*, etc. (254. 2).

NOTE. The original **īā**-stems have conformed to the type of the long stems: **hyrnetu**, **īelfetu**, **īiegetu** (258. 1).

2) The nom. acc. plur. of neuters of the **o**-declension: short stems like **reced**, **werod**; long stems like **nietenu**, **hēafodu** (243. 1; cf. also 144. *b*); and especially the stems in -**io** (45. 8), like **rīcu**, from ***rīciu**, basic form ***rīkiō** (246).

3) The nom. sing. fem. and nom. plur. neut. of adjectives: short stems like **micel**, **mōnig**, varying with **micelu**, **mōnigu**; long stems like **hālīgu** (296, and note 1; cf. 144. *b*); and particularly, again, the stems in -**io**, like **grēnu** (298), from ***grōniu**.

136. The vowels of other final syllables than those already instanced do not undergo apocope in OE. In particular, all vowels are retained which are still protected in OE. by a final consonant, for example, the **u**, **o** in the pret. 3 plur. of verbs: **hulpun**, **neredun**, -**on** (364).

C. FURTHER CHANGES OF FINAL SOUNDS IN CONSEQUENCE OF APOCOPE

137. When **w** becomes final after consonants and short vowels, it is vocalized to **u**, **o**; after long vowels and diphthongs it either remains unchanged or is lost altogether. For details see 134. *d*; 174.

138. If a mute followed by a liquid or nasal becomes final, the liquid or nasal falls under the operation of a universal phonetic law, according to which it assumes vocalic character; that is, acquires the power, peculiar to the vowels, of forming a syllable. This applies, for example, to the **r, l, n, m** in Goth. **akrs, fugls, talkns, maipms** (Braune, Goth. Gram. 27). In OE. these vocalic liquids and nasals often generate before them an auxiliary vowel. Thus the Gothic forms already cited become in OE. **æcer, fugol, tācen, māðum**. The following are the special rules which apply to these phenomena:

139. Such an auxiliary vowel occurs with most frequency before **r**. The vowel is regularly **e** when the preceding syllable contains a palatal vowel, but is generally **o**, in the oldest texts and in the dialects **u**, less frequently (and usually in the later documents) **e**, when the preceding vowel is guttural: **winter, finger, fæger, æcer, ceaster** (from ***cæster**, 75. 1), but **ātor, fōdor, hlūtor, clūstor**, etc.; compare Goth. **wintrus, figgrs, fagrs**, etc.

NOTE. Only in the oldest texts, like the Epinal MS., does the **r** often remain unchanged: **ātr, spāldr, cefr**, along with **ledir, mapuldur**, etc.

140. Vocalic **i** often remains unchanged, especially after dentals: **nædl, needle; spātl, spittle; setl, settle; hūsl, housel; eaxl, shoulder; nægl, nail**, etc.; yet **e** is sometimes found after a palatal vowel, as well as **u, o** after a guttural, without a fixed law: **æppel, apple; tempel, temple; fugol, fowl**, etc.

141. Vocalic *n* usually remains unchanged after a short syllable: *hræfn*, *raven*; *stefn*, *voice*; *regn*, *rain*; *ðegn*, *thane*; *wægn*, *wain*, though *-en* is sometimes found. After a long syllable *-en* predominates: *tācen*, *token*; *bēacen*, *beacon*; *wāpen*, *weapon*. Still more rare is *-in*, as in *frægin*, *asked*; *ðegin*; or, especially North., *-un*, *-on*: *bēcun*, *bēcon*, *sign*; *tācon*, *sign*; *fācon*, *malice*; *ymmon*, *hymn*.

142. Vocalic *m* usually remains without change: *ðrosm*, *vapor*; *bōsm*, *bosom*; *fæðm*, *embrace*; *botm*, *bottom*; *wæstm*, *growth*; yet *wæstem*, etc., are found, and *māðum*, *jewel*, is the usual form.

NOTE (on 138-142). Syllables with vocalic *r*, *l*, *m*, *n* are frequently not reckoned as full syllables in poetry (cf. Beitr. 10. 480 ff.).

D. SYNCOPE OF MIDDLE VOWELS

143. By 'middle vowels' we understand the vowels of those syllables which lie between the stem and the final syllable of polysyllabic words.

The middle vowels of Germanic are frequently syncopeated in OE. Their retention or elision depends, however (like the treatment of originally final vowels), in part on the quantity of the preceding radical syllable, in part on the number of middle vowels which the word originally contained.

144. a) Every middle vowel of a trisyllabic word, when originally short, and not rendered long by position, is syncopeated after a long radical syllable; after a short radical syllable this syncopeation does not take

place: compare forms like gen. *ēðles*, *ęngles*, *dēofles*, *ōðres*, *ēowres*, *āgnes*, *hēafdes*, from *ēðel*, *ęngel*, *dēofol*, *ōðer*, *ēower*, *āgen*, *hēafod*, with such as *staðoles*, *rodores*, *eotones*, *nacodes*, etc.

b) In the older texts the trisyllabic forms of the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut. in *-u* are exempt from the operation of syncope: thus adj. *idelu*, *ēoweru* (296, note 2), subst. *nietenu*, *hēafodu* (243. 1), along with *idle*, *ēowre*, *hēafdes*, etc. This rule does not apply, however, to the feminines ending in *-ðu* (255. 3), which come under the principle laid down in a.

c) Notwithstanding the short radical syllable, the following words regularly exhibit syncope: *micel*, *great*, and usually *yfel*, *evil*, thus gen. *micles*, *yfes*; but *micelu*, beside *micel* (296, note 1), and *yfelu*, beside *yflu* and *yfel*, in accordance with b.

NOTE 1. This older principle of syncopation is often violated, especially in later documents, through the influence of analogy. Particularly are middle vowels frequently restored after a long radical syllable, in imitation of the disyllabic forms of the same word: thus *ēðeles*, *dēofoles*, to agree with the nominatives *ēðel*, *dēofol*, etc. Especially is this the case in the past part. of strong verbs (*gebundne*, *geholpne*, later *-ene*) and the adjectives terminating in *-ig* (*hāliges*, etc., for older *hālgas*). More rarely do short stems exhibit syncope; this occurs principally and regularly in the *r*-cases (293. 1) of adjectives (*hwætre*, gen. dat. sing. fem.; *hwætra*, gen. plur.); in the acc. sing. masc. (*hwætne*); and usually in the comparative (*glædra*, *hwætra*, etc., 307).

NOTE 2. Where mute + liquid or nasal precedes the middle vowel, there is irregularity as regards syncope: *ęfnede* and *ęfnede*, etc.; see in particular 404; 406, note 5.

145. A vowel long by position is usually protected against the operation of syncope. So, for example,

at least in the earlier language, adjectives in **-isc**, like **mennisc**, together with their derivatives, remain unchanged even in their trisyllabic forms ; the majority of superlatives, like **ieldesta**, 309 ff. (but always **hiehta**, **niehsta**) ; nouns like **hærfest**, **eornest**, and all with liquid or nasal + consonant, like **færeld**, **fætels**, together with all those in which the middle vowel is followed by a geminated consonant, like **cōndelle**, **byrðenne** (258. 1), and the derivatives in **-ettan**, like **roccettan**, etc. (403, note), even when the **tt** is simplified (231. 4).

NOTE. In LWS. syncope is more frequent. Thus in the superlative (311), and especially after the simplification of a geminated liquid or nasal (231. 4) ; comparatives like **æftra**, beside **æftera**, from **æfterra** (314, note 1) ; gen. dat. sing. fem. **ōðre**, gen. plur. **ōðra**, beside **ōðere**, **ōðera**, from **ōðerre**, **ōðerra** (296, note 3). Similarly in words which were originally compounds, like **dēoflic**, beside **dēof-elle**, from **dēofol-lic**.

146. Middle vowels which were originally long are sometimes syncopated in an open syllable, when preceded by a long radical syllable ; in such cases the vowel had probably become short in Prim. OE. Here belong, for example, the adjectives in **-ig**, from **-īg**, the adjectives denoting material in **-en**, from **-īn** (296), and perhaps the gen. plur. of weak nouns ending in **-na**, beside **-ena** (276, note 1), etc.

147. When a word contained two middle vowels, that is, was originally tetrasyllabic, the second is always syncopated without regard to the quantity of the radical syllable, provided it was originally short and has not been rendered long by position : thus, for example, accusatives like **idelne**, **diegolne**, **atolne**, **swicolne**,

ēowerne, uncerne, fægerne, āgenne, hāligne, etc. ; or gen. dat. sing. fem. and gen. plur. like *īdelre, -ra* ; *swicolre, -ra*, etc.

148. In connection with these laws concerning syncope stands the treatment of words which have developed secondary vowels according to 138 ff. If the radical syllable is long, this secondary vowel does not penetrate into the interior of the word when a termination is added ; thus we have *wintres, fingres, temples, tācnes, māðmes*, beside *winter, finger, tempel, tācen, māðum*. After a short radical syllable the vowel occurs more frequently, at least before *r* ; *fæger, weder, wæter*, for example, have usually gen. *fægeres, wederes, wæteres*, etc., though the older forms, such as *wætres*, do now and then occur.

149. The elision of a vowel often takes place in OE. in syllables which have become final by the loss of an original vowel ending. Especially important as regards inflection are the rules for the formation of the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. of verbs (359).

C. THE CHIEF DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

150. The vowel-scheme of the OE. dialects, exclusive of West Saxon, is distinguished by the following general peculiarities :

1) In place of WS. *æ* = Germ. *æ*, West Germ. *ā* (57 ; 58), stands the vowel *ē* : *strēt, street* ; *rēd, advice* ; *slēpan, sleep* ; with *i*-umlaut, *mērsian, praise*, etc. *R.*¹ fluctuates between *ē* and *æ*.

2) WS. *ie*, *īe* (41) is wanting, and hence the same is true of the unstable *ī*, *ȳ* (22; 31); what equivalents represent them will be shown in the course of the following paragraphs. For certain *īe*'s of a different origin, see, for example, 166, note 7.

3) The diphthongs *ea*, *eo*, *io*, as well as the corresponding long ones, are not so accurately discriminated as in WS.; in Northumbrian especially there is great confusion between *ĕa* and *ĕo*. Kentish is distinguished by a preference for *īa*, *īo*, instead of the older *ĕa*, *ĕo*.

NOTE 1. The preference for *ĕa* is characteristic of Northumbrian (L. and Rit.); hence the short is retained in L. almost entirely, and even the long *ĕa* is not so very frequently replaced by *ĕo*: *bĕom*, *tree*; *ĕoðe*, *easy*; *ĕore*, *ear*; *Ēostro*, *Easter*, etc., for *bĕam*, etc. On the other hand, *ea* is very often written for short *eo* (though there is great variation in detail) and in general *ĕa* may be regarded as the rule, instead of *ĕo*: *stearra*, *star*; *meard*, *reward*; *dĕar*, *animal*; *bĕada*, *offer*; *lēaf*, *dear*, for WS. *steorra*, **meord*, *dĕor*, *bĕodan*, *lēof*, etc. Such is also the case in Rit., while R.² has a remarkably large number of *ĕo*'s for *ĕa*, and relatively few *ĕa*'s for *ĕo*.

NOTE 2. In Mercian, *ĕa* and *ĕo* are much better discriminated, at least in R.¹, while Ps. varies somewhat frequently.

Ps. approximates to Kentish by the appearance of a few *īo*'s for *eo*, as in *fiola*, *many*; *hiōfen*, *heaven*, beside *feolu*, *heofen*, and especially of many *īo*'s for *ĕo*: *bīod*, *table*; *bīodan*, *offer*; *ȳiōd*, *people*; *ȳiow*, *servant*; *hiōld*, *held*; *hwīol*, *wheel*; *hiōf*, *dear*, and even *nīolĕcan*, *approach*, for dial. *nĕolĕcan* = WS. *nĕalĕcan* (165, note 3).

NOTE 3. In Kentish, *ĕa* and *ĕo* are but slightly confused.

On the other hand, *ĕo* passes into *īo* at an early date, and thus coalesces with the older *īo* (notes 4 and 6), though *eo* still continues to persist alongside of *īo* in these cases: *clorfan*, *cut*; *clorl*, *plebeian*; *hiorte*, *heart*; *glofu*, *gift*; *hiōfen*, *heaven*; *bīodan*, *offer*; *dīor*, *animal*; *hiōf*, *dear*; *liōht*, *light*, for WS. *ceorfan*, *bĕodan*, etc.

For *īo* appears *īa* (*ya*), especially in Charters; compare forms like *flah*, *cattle*; *riaht*, *right*; *wiarald*, *world*; *glaban*, *give*; *hiabenlic*,

heavenly (Charters), for *feoh*, *reoht*, *weorold*, *geofan*, *heofenlic*; or *áhríasŭ* (K. Gl.), from *hrēosan*, *fall* (see also note 6).

For *ea* occurs now and again *ia*, *ya*: *siaro-*, *device* (Metra); *smýa-genne* (K. Gl.), from *smēagean*, *investigate*; likewise *io*, as in *for-nion*, *almost* (K. Gl.), for *fornēan*.

NOTE 4. The older *io* is kept intact in North., especially in R.², except that *io* as the result of contraction frequently interchanges with *eo*, as in *frēond*, beside *frīond*, *friend*; otherwise *eo* is only sporadic, and then is probably sometimes replaced by *ea* (note 1).

NOTE 5. In Mercian (R.¹ Ps.) the older *io* is sometimes preserved, but for the most part is replaced by *eo*: thus forms like *hiorde* and *heorde*, *shepherd*; *hlora* and *heora*, gen. plur. (334); *slofun* and *seofun*, *seven*; *fiond* and *fēond*, *enemy*, stand side by side.

NOTE 6. Coincidence of *io* and *eo* occurs also in Kentish, but, in accordance with note 3, *io* preponderates by far (yet *eo* is found as a contract diphthong, as in *frēond*, *friend*), or else *ia*, according to the change described in note 3: *Wiahtred*; gen. sing. *wlada*, *of wood*; *bīan*, *be* (427. 2); the pronouns *hīa*, *sīa* (334; 337), for *Wioht-*, *wlada*, *bīon*, etc.

NOTE 7 (on notes 1-6). The basic forms *ēu* and *īu*, which are presupposed to underlie *eo* and *io*, are preserved not only in the oldest documents (cf. Beitr. 18. 411 ff.), but also (beside the usual *eo*, *io*) frequently when final, before *w*, even in certain later Anglian texts: thus in R.¹ the pronouns *hīu*, *sīu* (334; 337); *priuwa*, *thrice*; *cnēu*, *knee*; *trēuw*, *tree*; *ŋēu(w)*, *servant*; *lārēu(w)*, *teacher*; *lāttēuw*, *leader*; in L. *hīu*, *ŋiu*; the neut. *ŋriu*, *three*; the pron. *īuh*, etc. (332; 335); *ŋiuwas*, *maid servants*; *cnēu*, *trēu*, dat. *cnēum*, etc.; Rit. *ŋiu*, *īuh* (cf. also 156. 5); also frequently *dīul*, etc., *devil*, in L. and Rit. In R.² such forms are quite lacking, and so in Ps. with the exception of sporadic occurrences which perhaps belong here, such as *getrēwlice*, *trēw*, *ŋiwgen*, which perhaps are to be interpreted according to 156, note 3.

4) The sound *œ* is of more extensive occurrence. Northumbrian has it throughout (even where it is short, *œle*, *dochter*, *œxen*, 93); the long sound occurs at least usually in Ps.: *dōēman*, *bōēc*, *spōed* (27; 99), while R.¹ varies between *ē* and *œ*.

a, æ

151. 1) For WS. *æ* (49), Kent. and Ps. have *e* : *deg*, *day* ; *brec*, *broke* ; *set*, *sat*, etc. The same is the case in the minor Mercian texts, while in R.¹ *æ* prevails, as in WS. and North.

NOTE. In the Old Kentish Charters, however, *æ* is frequently preserved, or indeed predominates.

The Ps. regularly has *æ* only in the proclitics *æt*, *at* ; *ðæt*, *that* ; otherwise only sporadically. On the other hand, *æ* is in the Ps. the normal representative of the WS. *ie* as *i*-umlaut of *ea* before *l* or *h* + consonant, as in *sældra*, *older* ; *hældan*, *bow* ; *næht*, *night* ; *mæhtig*, *mighty* (159. 3) ; and of the so-called palatal umlaut of *ea*, as in *sæh*, *saw* ; *dæg*, *days* (162. 1).

The first two correspondences are also Old Kentish, while subsequently *e* sometimes takes their place : *eldra*, *elmehtig*, etc. (but *seah*, *dagas*, as in WS.).

In like manner Kent. *æ*, the *i*-umlaut of *ā* < *ai* (on WS. *ā* = Germ. *æ* see 150), passes gradually into *ē* : K. Gl. *dēlan*, *distribute* ; *ēnig*, *any* ; *mēst*, *most* = WS. Ps. North. *dælan*, *ænig*, *mæst* ; the Old Kentish Charters have likewise often preserved this older *æ*.

2) For WS. *a* in an open syllable (50), Ps. and North. often have the *ea* resulting from *u*-(and *o/a*-)umlaut (160).

3) There is no breaking of *a* to *ea* before *l* + consonant in Ps. and North., and only traces of it in R.¹ The same is also true before *r* + consonant in North., inclusive of R. The place of *ea* is occupied by *a* (158).

e, ē

152. The occurrence of the older *e* (19. 1) is limited by the more frequent *u*- and *o/a*-umlaut in Kent. and

Angl. (160); the *e* which in the other dialects is umlaut of *o* is wanting in North. (93; 150. 4). In its stead occurs an *e* which, on the whole, is foreign to WS.:

- a*) for WS. *ie* from palatal + *e* (157. 2);
- b*) for WS. *ie* when *i*-umlaut of *ea* (159); for *æ* as a substitute for this *e*, see 159;
- c*) as Anglian simplification of *eo* before gutturals (164).

NOTE. In texts like R.¹ L., etc., *e* frequently interchanges with *æ*, without any fixed rule.

153. Long *ē* corresponds to WS. *ē* only in the cases contained under 21. 3 (but occasionally in R., as described in 21. 2). It is otherwise

- a*) the representative of WS. *æ* from Germ. *æ* (150. 1);
- b*) the Kentish representative of WS. *æ* from *ai* (151. 1);
- c*) *i*-umlaut of *ēa* (159. 4);
- d*) Anglian simplification of *ēa* (163) and *ēo* (165) before gutturals.

y, *ȳ*

154. A distinctive characteristic of late Kentish is the substitution of *e*, *ē*, for *y*, *ȳ*: *embe*, *desig*, *eppan*, *gelden*; *ontēnan*, *brēcō*, for WS. *ymbe*, *dysig*, *yppan*, *gylden*; *ontȳnan*, *brȳcō*. This substitution is as yet almost unknown in the older charters.

NOTE. As in Kent. the sounds of *ě*, *ǣ*, *ȳ* gradually coincide as *ě* (150. 1; 151. 1), it may also happen that, contrariwise, the traditional sign *y* is written for the sounds of *e* and *æ*: *cyrran*, for *cerran* (WS. *cierran*; 157. 2); *yfter*, for *etter* (WS. *æfter*; 151. 1); *mȳgō*, *lȳce*, for *mægō*, *lēce* (WS. *mægō*, *læce*; 150. 1); *lȳssa*, for *lēssa* (WS. *læssa*; 151. 1).

Diphthongs

155. With regard to the diphthongs, the following facts remain to be noted in addition to the statement made in 150. 3 :

- 1) The lack of an especial i-umlaut of *io*, *īo* (159. 5).
- 2) The regular simplification of *ĕa*, *ĕo*, and *īo* before gutturals in *Angl.* (161 ff.).
- 3) *North.* also possesses the diphthong *ei*: *seista*, *sixth*; *neista*, *next*; *heista*, *highest* (beside *sesta*, *nēsta*, *hēsta*); *ceiga*, *call*, etc.; and has *ai* for *æ*: *fraigna*, *cnaihtas*, for *fræгна*, *cnæhtas*.

NOTE. For *Kent.* diphthongs whose second element is *-i* from *-g*, see 214. 2.

Influences of w (71-73)

156. 1) In the *North.* dialect, *w* often changes a following *e*, and even at times an *æ*, into *œ*; and in like manner an *ē* into *œ*:

a) older *e*: *wœg*, *swœfn*, *wœl* = *WS.* *weg*, *swefn*, *wel*;

b) umlaut-*e* (or *ę*): *cucella*, *tuelf*, *wœnda* = *WS.* *cweġlan*, *tuelf*, *wędan*;

c) *ē* (= *WS.* *æ*, 150. 1): *huœr*, *wœde*, *wœpen* = *WS.* *hwær*, *wæde*, *wæpen*; lengthened *e* in *wœ* = *WS.* *wē*;

d) *æ* in *cwœð*, *hwœðre* = *WS.* *cwæð*, *hwæðre*.

NOTE 1. For orthographical variants see, for example, *Paul*, *Beitr.* 6. 38, 39.

2) *weo*, which persists in *WS.* (72), usually becomes *North. wo*: *worða*, *worðia*, *worð*, *worpa*, *suord* = *WS.*

weorðan, **weorðian**, **weorð**, **weorpan**, **sweord**; but likewise **cwoða**, **wosa** = WS. **cweðan**, **wesan**, from ***cweoðan**, ***weosan** (160).

NOTE 2. Notice WS. L. Rit. **wor(o)ld**, in contrast with Kent. Merc. R.² **weorold** (72).

3) In a similar manner **wea** (160, note 2) often becomes **wa** in North., but sometimes **wæ:** **waras**, **wæras**, plur. of **wer**, **wær**, *man*, WS. **weras**, Ps. **weoras**; **wala**, **wæla**, *riches*, WS. **wela**, Kent. Ps. **weola**; so also **tuā** (beside **tuia**), *doubt*.

4) In North. and Ps. **wio**, after becoming **wu** (71), becomes, when it experiences i-umlaut, in contrast with WS., **wy** in the words **wyrðe**, *worth*; **wyrsa**, *worse*; **wyrresta**, *worst*, and in such derivatives as **wyrsian**, *deteriorate* (but see also 164.2). For WS. **wuduwe**, *widow*, Ps. has **widwe**, North. **widua** L., **widuwe** R.², etc.

5) The groups **ĕow** and **ĭow** are frequently simplified in North. to **ĕw** (**ĕo**, **ĕu**, etc.) and **ĭw** (**ĭo**, **ĭu**): thus in L. **fēwer** (**fēuer**, **fēwr**, etc.), *four*; **hrēues**, *rues*; **getrēweð**, *believes*; preterits like **blēwun**, *blew*; **hrēwun** (**hræuun**), *rowed* (396, note 5), for and beside **fēower**, etc.; at the end of a syllable: **cnēw**, *knee*; **trēwna** (**trēuna**), *trees* (gen. plur.); **trēwufæst**, *faithful*; **getrēudon**, *believed*; preterits like **blēuu**, *blew*; **oncnēu** (**-cnæw**, **-cnēaw**), *knew*, etc.; **giwiga**, **giuia**, *desire* (also pres. part. **giuwende**, pres. plur. **giauað**); **ðiwa**, **ðiua** (or **ðiwa**, etc.?), *maid servant*, beside **ðiowa**, **ðiuwa** (or **ðiowa**, etc.); **nīwe**, **nīue**, *new*; gen. dat. **hiwes**, **hīwe**, *color*; pron. **īwih** (**īuih**, also **iuh**), *you*;

iwer, (*īuer*, *iur*), *your*; *īw*, *you* (332; 335); imp. *gitriū*, *believe*; add in Rit.: *gitriwe*, *faithful*; *triwlēas*, *faithless*; *gitriwia*, *believe*, etc.

NOTE 3. Likewise *ēaw* is shortened to *ēw*, etc., though rarely: L. *unglēu*, *unwise*; *scēaware*, *spy*; *scēwung*, *observation*; *ēwunga*, *manifestly*, for *-glēaw*; *scēaware*, *-ung*; *ēawunga*, etc. (or for North. *-glēow*, etc., derived from these, 150, note 1).

NOTE 4. Outside of North. such shortened forms are rarer; compare, for example, Ps. *trēw*, *tree*, for WS. *trēow*, etc. (150, note 7).

NOTE 5. North. *ew*, *iw* are probably only graphic abbreviations of *euw*, *iuw* (150, note 7).

Influence of a Preceding Palatal (74–76)

157. 1) Original *j* generally causes no diphthongization in Angl.

NOTE 1. *ju* in Merc. remains unchanged: *iung*, *gung*, *young*; *iuguð*, *guguð*, *youth* Ps.; *iung*; *iuguð*; *iū*, *gū*, formerly R.¹; *iung*, beside *ging* Chad; North. has mostly *ging*, *gigoð*, beside comp. *giungra* L., *giung* Rit.; Kent. has *iung*, beside *giong*, *giogoð*.

For older *jo* compare North. *geocc*, *yoke* L., *iocc*, *iwocc* Rit., Merc. *ioc* R.¹; but Kent. *geoc*, beside *ioc*. For WS. *gēomor*, *sorrowful*, Ps. has *gēamor*.

Orig. *jæ* = WS. *gēa* appears in Angl. Kent. as *gē* in *gē*, *yea*; *gēr*, *year*; to WS. pron. *gē*, *gīe*, *ye* corresponds Angl. *gē*, beside *gīe*, *gī* L. R.², and always *gīe* Rit.; similarly to WS. *iū*, *giū*, *gēo*, formerly, North. *gē(e)*, *gīe(e)*, *gī* L., *gē(e)*, *gī* R.², *gīe* Rit.

The original vocalism of the other words beginning with *j* is too doubtful to permit of the formulation of decided rules of correspondence.

2) *e* is not diphthongized in Kent. Angl. after *ǵ*, *é*, *sc*; compare, for example, forms like *gefan*, *geldan*, *-getan*, *sceld* = WS. *giefan*, *gielgan*, *-gietan*, *sciold* (for forms like *geofan* see 160); or, for umlaut-*e*: *gest*, *gerd*, *ceran* = WS. *giest*, *gierd*, *cierran*, etc.

NOTE 2. Ep. has an exceptional past part. *gibæn*, *given*, and Rit. a few *i*'s in the same stem: *gif*, *gifende*, the noun *gife*, etc. (Lindelöf 25).

The same holds for Kent. Angl. *ē* = Germ. *ā* (150. 1): *gēfon*, *gēton*, *scēp* (North. *scip*) = WS. *gēafon*, *-gēaton*, *scēap*; yet North. *scēacere*, *robber* L. R.²

3) There is likewise no change of *e* (= WS. *æ*) to *ea* in Kent. Merc.: *gef*, *get*, *cester*, *scel*, *scet* = WS. *geaf*, *ceaster*, etc.; on the other hand, R.¹ (151) oscillates between *æ* and *ea*, like North.: *cæster*, *gæfel*, etc., beside *ceaster*, *geat*, *sceal* (and *scal*) R.¹; North. has also the orthography *eæ*, as in *ongeægn*, *ætgeædre*, *ongeæt*, etc. L.

4) Unknown to the other dialects is the diphthongization in North. *geŋga*, *go* (for *gongan*). Before guttural vowels *e* likewise follows *sc* more frequently in North. than in the other dialects: *scēadan*, *sceŋmu*, etc.

The Breakings (77-84)

158. 1) Instead of *ea* before *r* + consonant, North. frequently has *a*: *arm*, *warp*, *warð*, beside *earm*, etc.; R.¹ has beside the more usual *ea* a few *æ*'s (as in *pærŋf*, beside *pearŋ*) and *a*'s (*warð*, and especially the frequent *iarwan*, beside *gearwan*, 408, note 2).

2) The breaking of *a* to *ea* before *l* + consonant is unknown in Merc. North. (but not in Kentish), being replaced by *a*: *all*, *fallan*, *haldan*, *salt*; an exception is North. *sealla*, beside *sella* = WS. *siellan* (80, note 2). R.¹ varies between *a* and *ea*. For the umlaut forms *e*, *æ* see 159.

3) Every breaking before *h*, as well as before a consonant-combination whose second element is *g*, *c*, or *h*, is simplified in *Angl.* by the so-called palatal umlaut (161 ff.).

The Umlauts (85–107)

159. *i-umlaut (88–100).* The *i-umlauts* of the diphthongs exhibit the widest deviations:

1) *i-umlaut of ea* is Old Kent. *æ*, for which *ē* appears later: *ærfe*, *ældra*, *mæht* Charters, beside *erfe* Charters, *eldra*, *mēht* K. Gl. = WS. *ierfe*, *ieldra*, *miht*, etc.; similarly *sceppan*, *gēst* = WS. *scieppan*, *giest* (but exceptional *hlihan* K. Gl.).

2) *i-umlaut of ea* before *r* is *Angl.* *ē*: *erfe*, *dērne*, *ermōu*, *fērd* = WS. *ierfe*, *yrfe*, etc.; yet R.¹ has, beside regular *e* and a few *æ*'s, as in *āwærgan*, *curse*, numerous WS. *y*'s, as in *āwyrgan*.

3) *i-umlaut of a (158.2)* before *l* + consonant, and of Germ. *a*, WS. *ea*, before *h*, is *Angl.* *æ*: *ældu*, *ældra*, *mæltan* = WS. *ieldu*, *ieldra*, *mieltan*; similarly before *ll*: *wælle*, beside *welle*, *well* (WS. *wiella*); then Ps. North. *hlæha(n)*, *mæht*, *mæhtig* = WS. *hliehhan*, *miht*, *nihtig*, etc. R.¹ varies between *æ* and *ē*: *ældu*, *ældra*, and *eldra*, *belgas*, etc. (beside WS. *y* in *syllan*, and *i* in *niht*, beside *næht*).

4) *i-umlaut of ēa* is Kent. *Angl.* *ē*: *hēran*, *gelēfan*, *nēd*, *lēg*, *cēgan*, etc. = WS. *hieran*, etc. However, R.¹ has occasional *ōē*, *āē*, and WS. *ȳ*, as in *cāegan*, *hōeran*, *hȳran*, etc., K. Gl. *āfligan*.

5) *i-umlaut of eo, ēo* is Kent. *Angl.* originally *io*, *io*. In North. this persists according to 150.3, but in

Merc. Kent. varies with later *eo*: North. *giorna*, *desire*; *hiorde*, *shepherd*; *iorsiga*, *rage* = WS. *giernan*, *hierde*, *ierslan*; or North. *diore*, *dear*; *ðiostre*, *gloomy*; *stiōra*, *steer* = WS. *dīere*, *ðiestre*, *stieran* (on North. *iw* for *iow* see 156. 5); but already, for example, Ps. has regularly *heorde*; *eorre*, *anger*; *ðēostre*, etc., though somewhat more frequently *hīow*, *form*; *nīowe*, *new*, than *hēow*, *nēowe* = WS. *hīw*, *nīwe* (but, on the other hand, *getrēowe*, *faithful*, etc. = WS. *getrīewe*, *getrȳwe*), and so in the other texts.

NOTE 1. Angl. has strangely a constant *áfirra(n)*, *remove* Ps. L. Rit., without breaking, beside the comp. *fīrr*, *further* L. Such *i*'s also occur sporadically elsewhere: Ps. *hirtan*, *cherish*; Corp. *cīrm*, *uproar*; *cīrnel*, *kernel*; *gesuīrbet*, 3 sing., *polishes* (from *sweorfan*, 388, note 1; Corp. *gesmīrwīd*, *anointed*, may have been assimilated to forms without *w*, 408. 1), etc.

Very peculiar is also the *e* in Ep. Corp. *sibun-*, *sifunsterri*, *seven stars*.

NOTE 2. Ps. always has *īe* in *onsīen*, *countenance* (North. *onsīon*, WS. *onsīen*), and sporadically in a few other words.

NOTE 3. On Angl. *wyrðe*, *wyrsa*, etc. see 156. 4.

160. *u-* and *o/a-*umlaut (101-107) are in certain respects of wider scope than in WS. In particular,

1) The distinction between the umlauted and the unumlauted vowel is often preserved in inflected forms. Thus, for example, Kent. *geofu* (*giofu*), *gift*, gen. *gefe*; Ps. *fet*, *vessel*, plur. *featu*, dat. *featum*; *get*, *hole*, gen. plur. *geata*; or, in the verb, Ps. *beoru*, *bires*, *bireð*, *beorað*, inf. *beoran*, *bear*; and similarly in North. (cf. 370), in which, however, the leveling with unumlauted inflectional forms has already made considerable inroads.

2) The umlaut also takes place before guttural and dental forms: compare, for example, Kent. **reogol**, *rule*; **forespreoca**, *intercessor*; **begeotan**, *obtain*; **Meotod**, *God*, etc. Only before gutturals does it subsequently disappear in Angl. (161 ff.).

3) The umlaut often occurs, too, before consonant-groups, but with no particular agreement among the various dialects: compare, for example, forms like North. **ionna**, *within*; **ionnað**, *viscera*; **bihionda**, **bihlanda**, *behind*; Ps. **eascan** (obl.), *ashes*; **eappul**, *apple*; **feadrum** (dat. plur.), *fathers*; or North. L. **gioster-** (beside poetical **geostran**), contrasted with R.² **gestor-**, WS. **giestran**, *yesterday*, etc.

4) The o/a-umlaut extends also to the older **a** in Merc. (especially Ps.), but not in Kent. North.: compare, as above, **get**, gen. plur. **geata**; inf. **fearan**, *travel*; **hleadan**, *load* (**galan**, *sing*, is an exception); verbs of the Second Weak Conjugation, like **gleadian**, *rejoice*; **geðeafian**, *concur*, etc.

NOTE 1. Since the o/a-umlaut of **a** is lacking in North. (**fara**, **hlada**, **geðafia**, etc.), as well as in WS., it follows that **geadria**, *collect*, and **sceaca**, *shake*, must be referred to 157. 3.

NOTE 2. North. very frequently has **ea** for umlaut-co (150, note 1); this must be borne in mind in explaining forms like **waras**, **wala** (156. 3), beside such as **cwoða**, **wosa** (156. 2).

The So-Called Palatal Umlaut (108–109)

161. The development of this phenomenon forms one of the most noticeable characteristics of Anglian. Its chief occurrences are as follows:

162. 1) In Ps. and North., and for the most part in R.¹, **ea** becomes simplified to **æ** before **h**, **ht**, **x** (= **hs**,

221. 2): *gesæh*, *saw*; *geðæht*, *thought*; *mæhte*, *might*; *sæx*, *knife*; *wæx*, *wax*; *wæxan*, *grow* = WS. *geseah*, *geðeaht*, etc. R.¹ has also a few *ea*'s, as in *geseah*.

NOTE 1. The *i*-umlaut of this *æ* is also *æ* (159. 3).

NOTE 2. In Ps. this *æ* also occurs before *g* and *c* as the simplification of the *ea* which might be expected as the result of *u*- or *o/a*-umlaut on *a*: *mægum* (plur.), *can*; *dægum*, *days*; *cwæcian*, *shake*; *dræca*, *dragon* (beside sporadic forms like *dagum*, *sagas*, *draca*, *hracan* and *hrecan*, *throat*; Zeuner, pp. 34, 35), for **meagum*, **deagas*, etc. (160. 4). In so far, however, as there is no *u*- or *o/a*-umlaut of *a*, there is no *æ* before *g*, *c*, and hence in R.¹ and North. occur *magum*, *dagum*, etc.

NOTE 3. In forms like the preterits *rehte*, *wehte*, beside *ræhte*, *wæhte*, WS. *reahte*, *weahte*, there is conformity to the *e* of the pres. *reccan*, *weccan*, etc. (407, note 9). Similarly, imperatives like North. *slāh*, *ðwāh* (374) conform to the contract forms of the pres. *slā*, *ðwā*.

NOTE 4. The Kentish texts usually have *ea* before *h*, and *a* before *g*, *c*. For the *i*-umlaut cf. 159. 1.

2) Before *rc*, *rg*, Merc. has *e* for *ea*, while North. has *e*, or rarely *æ*: Ps. *erc*, *ark*; *herg*, *grove*; *merg-*, *marrow* = WS. *earc*, *hearg*, *mearg*; R.¹ *gemercian*, *designate*; North. L. *berg*, *swine*, beside *ærce*, *ark* (and *arg*, *cowardly*), Rit. *gimercia*, beside *ærce*, R.² *erc*, *berg*.

NOTE 5. The *i*-umlaut of this *e* (*æ*) is *ē* (159. 2); on forms like North. *āwærga* (R.¹ *āwærgan*, 159. 2) see 156. 1. b.

163. Angl. *ēa* becomes *ē* before *h*, *g*, *c*: *hēh*, *high*; *nēh*, *near*; pret. *tēh*, *drew*; *ēge*, *eye*; *bēg*, *ring*; pret. *lēc*, *locked*; *bēcon*, *sign* = WS. *hēah*, etc. Side by side with these are a few *ēa*'s in R.¹, like *ēage*.

NOTE 1. Disregarding a few North. *æ*'s (like *tæh*, *drew*; *bræc*, *enjoyed* L.), L. has mostly *æc*, beside *ēc*, *also*, and *ðæh*, *though* (beside *ðāh* and sporadic *ðeh*, *ðeah*); Rit. *ðeh* and *ðeah*, R.² *æc*, *ēc*,

and *ŭh*, *ŭāh*; Ps. has *ŭāh*, but *ēc*, R.¹ *pāh*, beside *pāh*, and, beside *nēhsta*, *next*, *nēhsta* and *nīhsta*.

NOTE 2. Kent. has usually preserved *ēa*; but compare, for example, K. Gl. *nīh* for WS. *nēah*.

164. 1) Angl. *eo* becomes *e* before *h* (*x* = *hs*) and *rc*, *rg*, *rh*, *lh*: *feh*, *cattle*; imp. *geseh*, *see*; *sehðe*, *behold*; *reht*, *right*; *cneht*, *boy*; *sex*, *six* (83); *werc*, *work*; *bergan*, *defend*; *ðwerh*, *transverse*; *berht*, *bright*; *elh*, *elk*; *selh*, *seal* = WS. *feoh*, *geseoh*, etc. (add Ps. opt. *fele*, *conceal* = WS. *fēole*, from **feolhe*, 218).

NOTE 1. Beside *e*, North. has a few *æ*'s (like *cnæht*, *ræht*), *ai*'s (*cnaiht*), and *ei*'s (*reiht*, *neirxnawong*, *Paradise*), Rit. also *i* in imp. *bīsh*, *behold*, beside *bīseh*.

R.¹ varies between *e* (*æ*) and *eo* (*feh*, *cneht*, *reht*, *werc*, beside *gefæht*, *cnæht*, *wærc*, and *feoh*, *seoh*, *weorc*), but also has a few *i*'s and *y*'s (*riht*, *sihpe*, and *ryht*, *syxta*).

NOTE 2. Before *c* and *g* (162, note 2) there is fluctuation, *eo* having often been restored by analogy: Ps. *ærendreca*, *messenger*; plur. *wegas*, *ways*, beside the rare *weogas*; occasionally *sprecan*, *speak*, beside *spreocan*; *breocan*, *break*, after models like *beoran*, *bear*, etc.; in North., it is true, L. has only (beside *gespreaca*) *breca*, *spreca* (*spræca*), *wegas* (*wægas*, 156. 1), etc., but R.² *spreoca* (*spreaca*), etc.

NOTE 3. On *i* as the corresponding *i*-umlaut see 2.

2) Angl. *io*, no matter what its origin, is simplified to *i* in the position indicated: *rihtan*, *direct*; *gesihð*, *face*; *mīxen*, *dung*; *wīxla(n)*, *change*; *birhtan*, *illuminate*; *birhtu*, *splendor*; *mīlc*, *milk*; *stician*, *puncture*; plur. *twīgu*, *branches*, etc.; also Ps. *ætfileð* (3 sing.) for **-filhþ*, from *-fēolan* (387, note 4).

The simplification of *io* to *i* is older than the passage of *wio* into *wu* (71); hence simple *wi* in Angl. corresponds to this WS. *wu*: *wiht*, *anything*; *fulwiht*, *baptism*; *cwīc*, *living*; *cwīcian*, *animate*; *wīcu*, *week* = WS.

wuht, fulwuht, cwucu, cwucian, wucu, etc. Hence also Ps. R.¹ **wircan**, *act*, as against 156. 4 (North. **wyrca** L. R.², and partly R.¹, has *i*-umlaut of *u*; compare Goth. **waúrkjan**).

NOTE 4. Ps. R.¹ **bergan**, *taste*, L. R.² **berga** and **birga**, fluctuates between *e* and *i*. Other cases, like North. **berhta**, **brehta**, beside **birhta**, rest on assimilation to the adj. **berht**, etc.

NOTE 5. The **io** (**eo**) occurring in inflection is often restored by analogy; so always in Ps. in the pret. plur. **steogun**, **biaweocun**, after the pattern of **áreosun**, **fleotun**, R.¹ **wriogan**, **wreogan**, beside **ástigan**, etc.

165. 1) Under similar conditions, Angl. **ēo** becomes **ē**: **tēh**, *draw*; **flēh**, *flee*; **flēgan**, *fly*; **flēge**, *fly*; **lēgan**, *lie*; **sec**, *sick*; **lēht**, *light*; pret. **wēx**, *grew* = WS. **tēoh**, **flēoh**, etc.

NOTE 1. R.¹ fluctuates between **ē** and **ēo**: **sēc**, **lēht**, **wēx**, beside **sēc**, **lēht**, **wēox**, imp. **flēoh**, **tēoh**, etc.; side by side with these occurs **i**, without any discoverable reason for the change, in **smikende**, *smoking*; **ligende**, *lying*; **liht** (noun and adj.), *light*, corresponding to WS. **smēocan**, **lēogan**, **lēht**. Also sporadically in Ps. **lēgende**, 1 sing. **flīgu**, *fly*, Rit. **lihtes**, gen. sing. of **lēht**.

2) The analogous Angl. correspondence of **io** is **i**: imp. **lih**, *lend* (WS. **lēoh**); **cīcen**, *chicken* (WS. * **cīecen**, from * **kiukin**); **lihtan**, *shine* (WS. **liehtan**, etc.); also contract forms like Ps. **tīō**, *draws*; L. **flīō**, *flees* (from orig. * **tiuhīp**, * **flīuhīp**; compare WS. **tīehō**, **flīehō**), etc.

NOTE 2. To WS. **lēht**, from * **liht**, *easy* (84. 2) corresponds North. **lēht** L.; accordingly, Angl. **betwih**, *between*, must be compared rather with **betwuh**, from shortened * **betwih**, than with WS. **betwēoh**.

North. **lēhta**, beside **lihta**, *shine*, rests upon analogy with the noun **lēht**.

NOTE 3 (on 161-165). When there is early loss of *h* before a consonant (222. 2, beside note 1), simplification does not occur. Hence forms like Angl. *hēanis*, *hight*; asm. *hēane*, from *hēh*, WS. *hēah*, *high*; proper names like *Hēaburg*, or *Plēowalh*, *-wald*, compared with WS. *pleoh*, *danger*; *nēolācan* (*nēa-*, etc.), *approach*, from *nēh* (contrasted with WS. *nēalācean*, from Pre-WS. *nēh*, 150. 1), etc.

Contractions (110-119)

166. 1) Orig. *a* + vowel becomes North. *ā* in the contract verbs *slā* (*slāe*), *strike*; *ŭwā*, *wash* (374, note 1) = WS. Kent. Ps. *slēan*, *ŭwēan*; R.¹ *slā(n)*, plur. *thuāð*, beside *slēan*, *slēan*. But also North., etc., *ēa*, *tēar*, etc., as in WS.

2) Orig. *eh* + guttural vowel gives a predominant North. *ēo*, more rarely *ēa*: *gisēa*, *see*; *gefēaga*, *rejoice*; *hundtēantig*, *hundred* = WS. *gesēon*, etc.; R.¹ has predominantly *ēo*, more rarely *ēa*, while in Ps. *ēa*, *īa*, and *io*, *ēo* are much interchanged: for example, inf. *gesēan*, *-sian*, infl. *-sēonne*, 1 sing. *gesio* (also *-sie*), plur. *-sēað*, *-siað*, *-sioð*, etc.

NOTE 1. For other details in the inflection of the contract verbs see 374, note 1 ff.

NOTE 2. *eh* + *e* gives normally *ē*: Ps. opt. *sē*, *gefē*, plur. *sēn*, *gefēn*, North. *gesee* L., corresponding to WS. *sēon*, *see* (the by-forms plur. *gesēa* L., sing. *gesī*, *gesīe* L. R.² are assimilated to the forms of the indicative), *gefēon*, *rejoice*. Compare likewise gen. *fēes* L., *fēas* R.², from *feh*, *cattle* = WS. *feoh*, gen. *fēos*, and note 3.

3) Angl. *ēh* from *ēoh* (165. 1) and from *ēah* (163) + guttural vowel gives predominantly *ēa*: *flēa(n)*, *flee*; *tēa(n)*, *draw* = WS. *flēon*, etc. (yet Ps. also 1 sing. *flēom*, part. *flēonde*); or *hēh*, *high* = WS. *hēah*, weak nsm. *hēa*, obl. *hēan* (from **hēha*, etc., contrasted with WS. *hēa*, from **hēaha*, etc.).

NOTE 3. *ēh* + *e* gives *ē* in the opt. pres. *fiēn* Ps. (compare the ind. 3 sing. *fiēs* R.², instead of **fiīs*) and forms like *hēra*, *hēsta* (166. 6).

4) In the case of orig. *ih* and of Angl. *ih*, from *ioh* (165. 2) the instances are hardly numerous enough to furnish a definite rule.

NOTE 4. Ps. has *wrēan*, *cover* = WS. *wrēon* (383), R.¹ plur. *wrēop*, beside inf. *wrigan*, and pret. *twēode*, *twiode*, compared with WS. *twēogean*, *doubt*; L. has the noun *tuia*, beside *tuā* (156. 3), *doubt*; pret. *tuiade* (add ind. pres. 3 sing. *tuāes*, adj. *untuēndlic*, *indubitable*), R.² 3 sing. *twias*, opt. *twioge*, pret. *twiode*, *twiade*. For *ih* + *a* North. has presumably disyllabic *i-a*: L. *wri-a* (*wriga*), Rit. *wri-a*, *glōi-a*, *prosper* (cf. note 7).

NOTE 5. *īh* + orig. *i* gives Angl. *ī* in forms like 2 and 3 sing. *gis(t)*, *-siū* Ps. L. R.², *wriū* R.².

5) The treatment of Angl. *ī* + vowel varies just as greatly.

NOTE 6. In certain words *eo*, or *io* (*iu*) appears characteristic: Merc. *frēond*, *friend*, but *fiond*, beside *fēond*, *enemy* Ps. R.¹; North. *frēond*, *friond* L. R.², but only *fiond* L. R.² Rit.; Merc. *dēoful*, *dioful*, *devil* Ps. R.¹; North. *dīowul* (*dīawul*, etc.) R.², *dīowl*, *dīobul*, *dīul* (but also *dīabul*), etc. L.; North. *bīotiga*, *threaten* L. Rit.; then the forms corresponding to the WS. pronouns *hēo*, *sēo*, *ŋēos* (334; 337; 338), and the numeral *ŋrēo* (324. 3); on the other hand, Ps. *frēa*, *frēo*, *free*, contrasted with *frēo*, *friō* L. Rit., *friō* R.²; North. *hundnēantig*, *-nēontig*, *ninety* L., contrasted with *nīone*, *nine*, *hundnīontig* R.² Here older forms with *ī* + *u* seem to form the basis.

NOTE 7. A second group of forms (probably going back to older *ī* + *o*, *a*, or *e*) is characterized by the appearance of an *ēa*, which interchanges on one hand with *īa*, *īe*, *ē*, and on the other with *ēo*, *īo*. So, from Ps. *frigan*, *deliver*, the ind. 3 sing. *frēaū*, *friaū*, *friōū*, pret. *frēade*, *frēde*, *frēode*, *friode*, part. *gefrēad*, *gefriad*, *gefriod*, etc.; and similarly with *figan*, *hate* (see details in 416, notes 6 and 7); or Ps. *pīe*, *gadfly*; plur. *bīan*, *bees* (beside the compound *bīo-*, *biabrēad*, *bee-bread*), etc.

Here uncontracted forms probably occur also : *pī-e*, *bī-an*, etc. (cf. note 4).

6) Especially characteristic for Angl. are contractions due to the loss of medial *h* in cases where WS. and Kent. retain the *h* and undergo syncope of *a* following vowel (222). This occurs especially in the inflection of contract verbs (374), for example the 2 and 3 sing. *sīs(t)*, *sīð*, *seest*, *sees*, from **sihis*, **sihiþ* = WS. *siehst*, *siehð*; compare also forms like sup. *hēsta*, *highest*; *nēsta*, *next* (North. also *heista*, *neista*), from **hēhista*, etc. = WS. *hiehsta*, etc., and probably also comp. *hēra*, from **hēhira* = WS. *hierra*, from **hiehra*, etc. (for forms like acc. sing. masc. *hēane* Ps., North. *hēanis*, *hight*, from *hēh*, cf. 165, note 3).

Quantity (120–125)

167. Almost all cases of lengthening observed in WS. occur also in the other dialects. The lengthenings before liquid or nasal + consonant are most obvious, being demonstrated by the occurrence of accents.

PART II.—THE CONSONANTS

SURVEY OF THE OLD ENGLISH CONSONANTS

169.¹ The consonant-signs of OE. are those of the Latin alphabet, with the addition of the letters *ƿ* and *þ*, and of a special character for *w*. Many of these letters are, however, employed with a twofold value, as the number of characters was not sufficient to express with accuracy the distinctions current in the spoken language. The inexactness here noted is probably to be connected with the lack of uniformity in the pronunciation of the Latin letters at that time.

NOTE. In this respect the OE. spelling occupies about the standpoint of modern German, where, for example, *g*, *b* are employed partly as sonant stops, as in *gut*, *bin*, partly as spirants, as in *tage*, *lebe* (according to the pronunciation of many people), or where *s* designates both a surd and a voiced sibilant, etc.

170. The following table contains the consonants of the Common OE. period, arranged according to their phonetic relations, as nearly as can be ascertained (for the classification see Sievers' *Phonetik*⁴, pp. 50 ff.).

¹ Properly 168, which is omitted in the German, all subsequent sections being numbered too high by 1; in order not to create a discrepancy between the original and the translation, I have conformed.

—TR.

		LABIALS	DENTALS	PALATALS	GUTTURALS	
SONOROUS CONSONANTS	Semivowels	w	—	g' (i)	—	
	Liquids	—	r, l	—	—	
	Nasals	m	n	n'	n	
NON- SONOROUS CONSONANTS	Stops . .	Surd . .	p	t	c'	c
		Sonant .	b	d	g'	g
	Spirants	Surd . .	f	θ (p), s	h'	h
		Sonant .	f(u, b)	θ (p)	g'	g

Accordingly, a double pronunciation of the following letters is here assumed :

- 1) of **f**, **θ**, **p**, as surd and as sonant spirant ;
- 2) of **b**, as sonant stop and sonant spirant ;
- 3) of **g**, as semivowel, sonant stop, and sonant spirant ;
- 4) of **n**, as dental, palatal, and guttural nasal ;
- 5) of all the letters standing for the so-called gutturals, these having also a palatal pronunciation ; such palatal pronunciation is indicated above by the addition of ' .

A. SONOROUS CONSONANTS

1. THE SEMIVOWELS

W

171. **w**, here substituted for the Runic character *wyn*, the usual symbol employed in the manuscripts, represents the sound of English **w** ; or, in other words, **w** is non-syllabic **u**, or **u** discharging the function of a consonant (Phonetik⁴, pp. 37 ff., 148 ff.).

NOTE 1. In the oldest texts, like Ep., the *wyn* is hardly employed as yet, **uu** being generally used to denote the sound in question : **uuer**, **uueg**, **uurōt**, **clauue**, **suualuue**, etc. ; sometimes simple **u**, the latter being especially common in North. : **uer**, **uoeg**, **sualue** ; otherwise the

employment of **u** for **w** is chiefly limited to the combinations described in 172. 3. At times we also find **wu**, like North. **wuriotto** for **wrioto**, etc. The Rit. very frequently employs **v**.

NOTE 2. The older German editors and grammarians often follow the example of Jacob Grimm in representing the sign *wyn* by **v**. This is objectionable, because it thus becomes impossible to discriminate between **w** and the labiodental spirant **v** (194).

NOTE 3. Lat. **v** is represented by **w** only in early loan-words, such as **wīn**, *wine*; **pāwa**, *peacock* (beside **pēa**, 111, note 2); **mealwe**, *mallow*; from *vinum*, *pavo*, *malva* (192. 2).

172. **w** occurs initially

1) before all vowels: **wāt**, *knows*; **wer**, *man*; **wine**, *friend*; **word**, *word*; **wund**, *wound*; **wyrd**, *fate*;

2) in the combinations **wr**, **wl**: **writan**, *write*; **wrōt**, *elephant's trunk*; **wlitan**, *see*; **wlōnc**, *proud*, etc.;

3) in the combinations **cw**, **hw**, **dw**, **θw**, **tw**, **sw**: **cweðan**, *say*; **hwā**, *who*; **dweorg**, *dwarf*; **θwēan**, *wash*; **twā**, *two*; **swefan**, *sleep*.

NOTE. The loss of an initial **w** occurs in the negative forms of some verbs: **nāt**, *nytan*, *nyse* (420. 1), **nyllan** (428, note 2), **næs**, *nāron* (427. 3); in **ealneg**, *ealnig*, *always*, from *ealne weg* (*ealnuweg* Cura Past.; also LWS. *ealling*, *ealning*); otherwise only occasionally before **u**, in **uton**, beside **wuton**, *let us*; **cucu**, *nāuht*, *betuh*, *betux*, beside **cwucu**, *nāwuht*, *betwuh*, *betwux* (71), etc.; finally, in **hū**, *how*; **tū**, *two* (324. 2), from ***hwō**, ***twō** (60, note). In North. also before **œ**: **oeg**, *coern* L., for *wæg*, *way*; **cuœrn**, *quern*.

173. Medially, **w** stands before all vowels except **u** and Prim. OE. **i** without change: **sāwan**, *sāwe*, *spiwian*, *spiwode*. It disappears before **u** and **i**, and thus frequently gives rise to contractions:

1) Before **u**, as in **ēa**, *ðrēa*, *clēa*, etc. (111; 112; cf. also 134. d), or **rēon** from **rēowun** (396, note 8).

However, *w* is sometimes restored before *u*, following the analogy of other forms, as in *clawu*, *sāwun*, *rēowun*, *sēowun*, etc.

2) Before *i*, in words like *āe*, *law*; *sāe*, *sea*; *hrāe*, *corpse*, for **āi*, **sāi*, **hrāi*, from the stems **aiwi*-, **saiwi*-, **hraiwi*-; after consonants, especially in certain forms of weak verbs in *-rw* and *-lw*, as in pres. 3 sing. *giereō*, *wieleō*, pret. *gierede*, *wielede*, from **garwis*, **walwis*, **garwida*, **walwida* (408. 1); compare also *pyle*, *pillow*, from Lat. *pulvinum*. But in these cases *w* is often restored from inflectional forms in which *i* was replaced in the termination by *j*, or some other vowel: *āew*, *hrāew*, *gierweō*, etc.

NOTE 1. Ecthipsis of *w* before original *i* appears not to belong to OE. in all cases, but sometimes to West Germanic. These cases are not all equally clear; for *āe*, *sāe*, etc., compare, for example, 174, note 3. The *w* is retained in cases like *ēowic*, 332 (but North. *iuh*, beside *iūh*).

NOTE 2. Conversely, *w* is sometimes inserted to prevent the hiatus which would otherwise result between *ū* and a following inflectional vowel: *rūh*, gen. *rūwes*, for **rū-es* (295, note 1, though this might be grammatical change, 234). The *w* of *lāwed*, from *laicus*, is difficult of explanation.

NOTE 3. *w* is apt to disappear from the initial position of the second member of compounds, especially before *o*, *u*, as in *hlāford*, *lord*; *fulluht*, *baptism*, and proper nouns like *Hrōðulf*, for **hlāfword*, *-ward*, *fullwuht*, *fulwiht* (compare also *fullian*, beside *fullwian*, *baptize*), *Hrōðwulf*; add such words as *eneter*, *entire*, *yearling*, from *ænwintre*, and *hwilende*, *hwilendlic*, *temporary*, for *hwilwende*, *-dlic*, etc.

174. *w* is originally not allowed to stand as the final of a syllable.

1) After a short vowel it becomes *u*, and the two vowels then unite to form a diphthong: compare nom.

ðeo, **cnēo**, from ***pe-u**, ***cne-u**, for ***pew(a)**, ***cnew(a)** (according to 113.1; 130); but **ðeow**, **cnēow** also occur, being formed upon the analogy of the inflected forms which have medial **w**.

2) After consonants it is vocalized to syllabic **u** (**o**). After a short syllable the latter remains as the final of a word: compare the nom. acc. sing. of **wo**-stems, like **bearu**, **searu** (249), and the adj. **gearu** (300; cf. 134. d). Likewise in the declension and comparison of adjectives: compare acc. **gearone**, gen. dat. sing. fem. **gearore**, gen. plur. **gearora** (300), comp. **gearora** (307), for ***gearwne**, etc. After a long stem **w** disappears: **gād**, *lack* (249, note 5); for feminines like **beadu**, *battle*; **mæd**, *læs*, *meadow* (260), cf. 134. d.

NOTE 1. Analogy often leads to the restoration of the **w** in a medial position: compare preterits like **hyrwde**, **syrwde**, from **hierwan**, **sierwan** (408. 1); derivatives like **nyrwō** (255. 3), based upon **nearo**, **nearwes**, etc.

3) After a long vowel or a diphthong **w** disappears (after first being vocalized to **u**), according to 134; 144?: **ā**, **ō**, *ever* (Goth. **aiw**); **hrā**, *corpse* (Goth. **hraiw**); **snā**, *snow* (Goth. **snaiws**). Not infrequently, however, the **w** of the other forms is introduced: **hrāw**, **snāw** (following gen. **hrāwes**, **snāwes**, etc.); this takes place almost invariably after diphthongs, as in **glēaw** (63), **hrēow** (64), and in the interior of a word when there is syncope of a middle vowel, as in **sāwle** (beside **sāule**, **saule**), from **sāwol**, *soul*; **mēowle** (Goth. **mawilō**, 73, note 1); in derivatives like **hrēowsian**, *rue*, from ***hreuwsōn**; especially in inflected forms, as in **spēwō**, **cnāwō**, from **spōwan**, **cnāwan**; **lāwde**, from **lāewan**, etc.

Nevertheless there occur, especially in North., sporadic forms without **w**, like *gecnæð*, *ætiede*, *ēorum*, North. *bilēde*, *ēde*, *ætēade*, for *gecnæwð*, *knows*; *ætiewde*, North. *ætēawde*, *showed*; *ēowrum*, *your*; *belēwde*, *betrayed*, etc.

NOTE 2. The manuscripts often have **u** for **w**: *sāule*, *snāu*; more rarely after diphthongs, as in Kent. Gl. *lātēou*, *hrīou* = WS. *-tēow*, *-hrēow*.

NOTE 3. Perhaps, too, *æ*, *sæ*, *hræ* (173. 2), may be explained by this rule. Contrariwise, forms like *cnæð* from **cnæwip*, *iede* from **auwida*, *lēde* from **lēwida*, may fall under the rule of 173. 2.

NOTE 4. In certain rather doubtful cases contraction seems to have been substituted for disappearance after a long vowel (112; 118).

NOTE 5 (on 171-174). For the effect of **w** upon neighboring sounds see 71-73; 156.

j

175. The manuscripts have no sign appropriated to the semivowel **j** (i.e., **i** when consonantal in function or non-syllabic, *Phonetik* 4 384), but denote it now by the vowel-sign **i**, and now by **g**.

1) **i** occupies the initial position in foreign words like *Iōhannes*, *Iūdēas*; in genuine OE. words it occurs rarely, and almost exclusively before **u**: *iū*, *iung* (74; 157. 1). As a medial it is more common: *heries*, *nerian*, etc., though in such instances the **i** is perhaps to be regarded as syllabic, or as standing for **ij**: *he-ri-es*, or *he-ri-jes* (cf. 2, below).

NOTE. The **i** of the Second Class of weak verbs (411 ff.) must probably (so also according to metrical indications) be considered as syllabic, even where it is preceded by a short syllable, as in *wunian*, *macian*, or *frēmian*, *þenian* (400, note 2).

2) **g** is by far the more usual sign. Initially it scarcely appears except before **i**, **e**, **y**, since **j** unites with any other

vowel to form one of the diphthongs *ie*, *ea*, *eo* (74): *gif*, *giet* (*gȳt*), *gé*, *gēar*, *geong*, etc. (but also *gi* in *giung*, etc., cf. 1, above; Ps. sporadic *gung*, etc., 157. 1, etc.).

Medially it occurs also before guttural vowels: *hērgas*, *hērgum*, *nērgan*. Instead of the simple *g* we often find *ig* (*eg*), and before *a* even (*i*)*ge*: *hēriges*, *hērigas*, *hēr(i)g(e)as*, *nēr(i)g(e)an*; yet this combination is perhaps intended to denote the sounds *ij* (cf. 1, above). Only seldom does *ge* occur before *u*, as in Gl. *bergeum*, *racemis*.

As a final, *g* is rare, and is only met with after a long vowel or diphthong: *æg*, *egg*; *cæg*, *key*; *clæg*, *clay*; *ieg*, *island*; *hieg*, *hay*; imp. *cieg*, *call* (cf. also 24, note).

176. Germanic *j* is regularly preserved only when initial; when medial, only occasionally between vowels, as in *frīgea*, *Lord* (beside *frēa*, Goth. *frauja*); *frīge*, nom. plur. masc. of *frēo*, *free*; *frēogan*, *liberate*; *cīegan*, *call*, etc.; and after a short vowel + consonant (*i.e.*, according to 227, after a short vowel + *r*): *nērian*, *hērian*, *wērian*, *hēries* = Goth. *nasjan*, *hazjan*, *warjan*, *harjis*; occasionally also after middle syllables having an originally short vowel, as in *āmerge*, *embers* (OHG. *eimuria*); Ep. Erf. Corp. *uuellyrgæ*, *sinus*, beside Gl. Cleop. *wellere*; probably Corp. *suhterga*, *fratrueilis*, beside *suhtri(g)a*.

NOTE 1. In late MSS., however, the *j* is occasionally wanting before *ea*, *eo*: dat. plur. *ēaron*, *years*; *eogoð*, *youth*, for *gēaron*, *geogoð*; for the explanation see 212, note 2.

NOTE 2. Verbs like *lēmian*, *ðenian*, *hēlian*, etc. (400, note 2) have not retained the older *j*, but have introduced the *i*, *j* on the analogy of such as *nērian*.

177. On the contrary, older medial **j** is always lost after a long closed syllable. This rule applies not only to Germ. **j**, but also to Germ. **i** before a vowel (interchanging with **j**, according to 45.8). Whenever this **i** did not become final (130, note) it was changed in OE. (apparently rather late) to **j**, and thus coincided with the older **j**, and afterward disappeared under the same circumstances as the latter. Examples are :

a) older **j** in verbs like *sellan*, *sclieppan*, *settan*, *lēcgan* (400), for **salljan*, **skappjan*, etc., OS. *sellian*, *sceppian*, *settian*, *lēggian*, for Goth. *saljan*, etc. (227); likewise in nouns like *sēcġ*, *cynn* (246), *sibb* (257);

b) older **i** in forms like *hierdes*, *-das*, *-da*, *-dum*; *rīces*, *-cu*, *-ca*, *-cum* (246); *gierda*, *-a*, *-um* (257); and verbs like *dēman* (403), for **hirdies*, **rikies*, **gardia*, **dōmian*, etc.

NOTE. Unequivocal traces of the former presence of **j**, **i** after a syllable are the **i**-umlaut, the palatalization of preceding gutturals (206), and the West Germ. gemination (227).

2. THE LIQUIDS

r

178. 1) The OE. **r** was probably cerebral (Phonetik ⁴, p. 108), that is, was pronounced with the tip of the tongue strongly recurved, as it still is by some speakers of English. Only on this supposition is it phonetically possible to account for the OE. breaking before **r** (79).

2) **r** is of frequent occurrence as initial, medial, and final; less frequently is it geminated, as

a) in *feorran*, *far*; *afierran*, *remove*; *steorra*, *star*; *cierran*, *turn*; compare Goth. *fairra*, OHG. *sterro*, etc.;

b) in *ierre*, *angry*; *ðyrre*, *withered*; *mierran*, *prevent*; *durran*, *dare*; compare Goth. **airzeis*, *paursus*, *marzjan*, *daursan* (181. 2);

c) resulting from syncope, as in *wærra*, comp. of *wær*, *wary*, etc.

The *r* is not subject to gemination before *j* (227).

179. Medial *r* often undergoes metathesis:

1) *r* preceding a vowel has a tendency to change positions with it when the latter is followed by *nn* or by *s*-combinations: *iernan*, *run*; *biernan*, *burn*; *burna*, *fountain*; *wærna* (beside *wrenna*), *wren*; *hors*, *horse*; *cærse*, *cress*; *bærs*, *perch*; *forsc*, *frog*; *fersc*, *fresh*; *ðerscan*, *thresh*; *berstan*, *burst*; *fierst*, *time*; *forst*, *frost*; (*hond*)*wyrst*, *wrist*; *dærstan*, *yeast* (compare Goth. *rinnan*, *brinnan*, etc.); so *ærn*, *house*; *hærn*, *wave* (compare Goth. *razn*, ON. *rann*, and ON. *hrønn*, for **rænn*, from **ræzn*, etc.; in the oldest texts still sometimes occur forms like Ep. Erf. *ræn*, *ren*). Metathesis perhaps occurs before single *n* in Corp. *cornuc*, *crane*, and before *m* in *forma*, *first*, beside *fruma*, *advantage*; yet in these last cases there are more probably older Germ. doublets belonging to different ablaut-grades (cf. 127, note).

NOTE. Wholly irregular is the LWS. metathesis in *gyrstandæg*, *yesterday*, for earlier *giestran*-, *gystran*-. On the relation of metathesis to breaking see 79, note 2.

2) The converse of the metathesis already described takes place before *ht* in the North. *frohtiga*, *fear*;

fryhtu, *fright*, beside **forhtiga**, **fyrhtu** ; **breht**, *bright*, and its derivatives, beside **berht**. In the other dialects, **-breht**, **-briht** seems to occur only as the second element of compound proper nouns, as in **Cēolbreht**, **Æðelbriht**, etc. Sporadic forms are likewise **scruf**, beside *scurf*, *scurf*, and **wrums**, *pus*, for **wurms** (185).

180. **r** is generally stable, whatever its position in the word. For syllabic **r** see **139**. Isolated examples of ecthipsis are: **specan**, **spāc** (at first probably Kentish), beside **sprecan**, *speak*, **sprāc**, *speech* ; LWS. **pætig** for **prætig**, *tricky* ; North. **wixla**, *exchange*, beside **wrixla** ; Ps. **geęndebyrdan**, *arrange* ; **ęndebyrdnis**, *order* (Zeuner, pp. 75, 76) ; North. **geęndebrednian**, compared with OE. **onbryrdnis**, **onbryrdan**, etc. Assimilation of **lr** to **ll** in the comp. **sēlla**, beside **sēlra** (312) ; of **sr** to **ss** in **lāssa** ; simplified in the comp. **wiersa**, **wyrsa** (312), Goth. **wairsiza** ; the pron. **ðisse** (338). In these examples **r** always springs from **z** (181. 2) ; but compare also **ūsses**, etc. (336, note), from * **ūsres**.

NOTE. For the loss of final Germanic **z** see **182**.

181. OE. **r** is of twofold origin. It corresponds

1) to Germ. **r**, as in **rice**, **rādan**, **bringan**, **beorgan**, **wer** = Goth. **reiki**, **rēdan**, **briggan**, **baigan**, **wair**. This **r** may occur in any part of a word.

2) to Germ. **z**, partly retained in Goth. as **z**, and partly represented by **s**: **māra**, *greater* ; **ēare**, *ear* ; **hērjan**, *praise* ; **neġrian**, *save* = Goth. **maīza**, **ausō**, **hazjan**, **nasjan**. Then especially in grammatical interchange with **s**: **cēosan**, **cēas**, **curon**, **corēn** (233 ff.).

Likewise in the combinations *rz*, as in *terre*, etc. (178. 2. *b*), and *zd*: *reord*, *speech*; *hord*, *treasure* (Goth. *razda*, *huzd*).

182. This *r* from *z* is restricted to the medial position, for initial *z* did not exist in Germanic, and originally final *z* is always lost in OE., whether belonging to inflectional or derivational forms. Under the first head belong, for example, the Germ. *z* (Goth. *s*) of the nom. sing., that of many gen. sing. and nom. acc. plur., the *z* of the opt. 2 sing. both pres. and pret., and other forms, concerning which information is easily gained by comparing the OE. with the Goth. paradigms; as examples may be cited the nominatives *hé*, *hwá* (Goth. *is*, *hwas*), the plurals *wé*, *gé*, *ðā* (Goth. *weis*, *jus*, *pōs*), and the datives *mé*, *ðé* (Goth. *mis*, *pus*). To the class of derivational forms belong especially

a) the comparative adverbs *mā*, *bēt*, *lēng*, etc. (323; Goth. *mais*, *batis*, *laggis*);

b) the nom. sing. of the *os*-, *es*-stems (288 ff.), like *sige*, *bēre*, *lomb*, *cealf* (Goth. *sigis*, *bariz*-, etc.).

NOTE. Where an OE. *r* appears in place of an originally final *z*, it is in consequence of a reinsertion from polysyllabic forms; so in by-forms like *sigor*, *lombor*, etc., compared with *sige*, *lomb* (289; 290).

1

183. 1) The OE. *l* must (disregarding possible palatalization before *i*, *j*) have had a twofold pronunciation: first, that of an ordinary *l*; and secondly, a pronunciation nearly or quite guttural (Phonetik⁴ 293; 294), wherever it caused breaking of a preceding vowel (80; 81).

Upon what this difference of sound depends has as yet not been clearly determined; yet it would seem that the phonetic environment was not the only factor concerned (note, for example, the difference between *syllan* and *tellan*, 80, note 2; 158.2).

2) *l* may occur in any part of a word, is frequently geminated, and is often syllabic (140). In general it retains its position, but undergoes metathesis in the following cases:

a) After a stressed syllable *dl* becomes *ld* in dialectic *bold*, *building*; *seld*, *seat*; *späld*, *spittle* (196.2, and note 1);

b) After an unstressed or weak syllable *sl*, *fl*, and *pl* (or *dl*) become *ls*, *lf*, *ld* in the proper names terminating in *-gils*, such as *Cynegils*, *Eadgils*, from **Cynigisl*, etc.; in the derivative ending *-els* = OHG. *-isal*, as in *gyrdels*, *girdle* (Ep. *gyrdisl*); *riecels*, *incense*; in *-elfe*, *-ilfe* = ON. *-yfli*, in *innelfe*, *innilfe*, *viscera*, beside *innefle*, ON. *innyfli*; and in *-eld*, *-old* (from *ipl*, *-idl*, etc.), as in *færeld*, *way*; *þerscold*, *threshold*, etc.

NOTE. There is sporadic metathesis of final *dl* (from *pl*, 201.3) and *fl* in certain other words whose form is fixed in other respects: *āld*, *disease*, for *ād̥l*; *gēalhswille*, *cealfād̥l*, from *gēaglas*, *palate*; *ceafias*, *jaws*.

3. THE NASALS

m, *n*

184. *m* denotes the labial, and *n*, in conformity with Latin usage, not only the dental, but also the guttural (or palatal) nasal, — the latter, however, only when it stands immediately before *c* or *g*. *m* and dental *n*, on

the other hand, are found in all positions, and also geminated and syllabic (141; 142).

NOTE. Occasionally *n* stands for *ng* or *nc*, though but rarely: *streñð*, *strength*; *þeñð*, *thinks*, for *streñgð*, *þeñcð*.

185. Metathesis of *m* occurs in worms (*wurms*, *wyrms*), *pus*; *wyrmsan*, *corrupt*, beside older *worsm*, *wursm*, and *wyrsm*. Metathesis of *n* is somewhat commoner, especially in certain texts which have frequent *nc*, *ng* for final *cn*, *gn*, as in *tānc*, *reng*, *ðeng*, *freng*, for *tācn*, *sign*; *regn*, *rain*; *ðegn*, *thane*; *frægn*, *asked*. Conversely, *clæsnian*, *purify* (Ps. *clāsnian*), beside more frequent *clāensian* (North. *clāensia*), from *clāene*, *pure* (a contaminated form *clāensnian* is also found).

186. The occurrence of nasals is subject only to the following restrictions:

1) Before the surd spirants *f*, *þ*, and *s*, there is loss of *m* and *n*, accompanied by lengthening of the preceding vowel; older *a*, OE. *ǣ* (65), is thus converted into *ō* (66). Examples are:

a) of the loss of *m*: *fif*, *five* (Goth. *fimf*); the adv. *sōfte*, *softly*, comp. *sēft*, 323 (OHG. *samfto*); *ōsle*, *ousel* (OHG. *amsala*);

b) of the loss of *n*: *gōs*, *goose*, plur. *gēs*; *hōs*, *troop*; *ōðer*, *other*; *sōð*, *true*; *tōð*, *tooth*, plur. *tēð*; *ēst*, *favor*; *sīð*, *journey*; *ūs*, *us*; *hūsl*, *housel*; *dūst*, *dust*; *cūðe*, *could*; *cūð*, *known*; *mūð*, *mouth*; *ȳst*, *storm*; *wȳscan*, *wish* = Goth. *gans*, *hansa*, *anþar*, etc.

NOTE 1. The length of the vowel is established by occasional gemination: *Suutanglorum* Cod. Dipl., A.D. 736; *Cuutferthi*,

A.D. 755-757; *Cnutfert*, A.D. 766; *slith*, A.D. 805-831. In later documents accents often occur: *cūð*, *sifð*, etc.

NOTE 2. Nasal pronunciation of the vowel seems to have prevailed in the earliest period, as the proper noun *Onswini* occurs once in an inscription for Common OE. *Ōswine*. The oldest Runic inscriptions, with this exception, no longer have the nasal.

NOTE 3. The loss of the consonant occurs also in unstressed syllables, but in this position the vowel is afterwards shortened (9): ind. pres. 3 sing. of the verbs in *-að*, like *berað* (360. 1), from **beranþ* (1) (133. a), *berōþ* (66); *geoguð*, *-oð*, *youth*; *duguð*, *-oð*, *virtue* (gen. plur. also *dugeða*; dat. *dugeðum*, etc.); *oroð*, *breath* (later also *oreð*, *orð*, from which *oreðian*, *orðian*, *breathe*), from **jugunþ*-, **dugunþ*-, **orōnþ*, etc.; compounds like *fracoð*, *hateful*, beside *forēuð*, or *ofost*, *zeal* (from which *efstan*, *hasten*); *æfest*, *jealousy*, etc. (43, note 4); also in the prefix *oð-* (from *unþ*-), *away*, as in *oðga-ngan*, *escape*, beside the adj. *ū-ðgege*, *escaping*, etc.

NOTE 4. No *n* occurs in OE. before *h*, the guttural surd spirant, for in this position it was already lost in Germanic. That under these circumstances the *n* first caused nasalization of the preceding vowel, and that as a result older *aŋh* became *ōh*, has already been stated (45. 5; 67). Examples of *iĥ*, *ūĥ*, from *irĥ*, *unĥ*, are: the verb *ðēon*, from **ðīhan* (383), part. *ðungen* (234); the pret. *ðūhte*, from *ðyncan* (407. 1); *ūhta*, *dawn* (Goth. *ūhtwō*).

2) Exceptions to the foregoing are:

a) the 2 sing. *cōnst*, *mōnst* (422; 423), and a few foreign words like *pīnsian*, *weigh*;

b) all words in which *m*, *n* + spirant have been brought into juxtaposition by the syncope of a vowel, like *ðrim*s, *a coin* (OHG. *drimissa*); *winster*, *winester*, *left* (OHG. *winistar*); and especially derivatives in *-sian* (OHG. *-isōn*), like *grimsian*, *rage*; *clāensian*, *cleanse*; *minsian*, *diminish*.

187. Final *m* of an inflectional syllable is changed to *n* in late OE. (and indeed now and then in the Cura Past.), especially after an unstressed syllable, as in the

dat. plur. **daġon** for **daġum**, or in the dat. sing. masc. and neut. and the dat. plur. of adjectives: **gōdon**, **-an**, for **gōdum**; also in the pron. **ðān**, for **ðām** (337, note 2).

NOTE. For **nymðe**, *except*, Ps. has one occurrence of **nybðe**; compare also **Nebroð**, for **Nemrod**, *Nimrod*.

188. The following changes of **n** may be noted :

1) At the close of a syllable, **mn** often passes later into **mm**, **m** (231.1) by assimilation: **em**, *level*; **hrem**, **hræm**, *raven* (also inflected, **hremmes**, etc.), for **emn**, **hremn**, from **efn**, **hræfn** (193.2); so frequently **wæp-man**, *man*, for **wæp(e)nman**; compare also occasional spellings like **elmboga** (also shortened, **elboga**), **Hūmberht**, for **elnboga**, *elbow*; **Hūnberht**.

NOTE 1. Assimilation to **l** appears in occasional forms like **ællef**, beside **endleofan**, etc. (325), and the late **ollunc**, *along*, beside **onlong**, from earlier **ondlong**.

2) Final **n** of an inflectional ending is suppressed in North., particularly in the infinitive (363.1), the opt. plur. (365; but not in the ind. pret., 364.2), and the weak declension (276, note 5). In the remaining dialects, **n** is generally lost only in the 1 and 2 plur. before the pronouns **wé**, **gé** (360.2).

NOTE 2. For **wolc(e)n**, *cloud*, the older language has sometimes **wolc** (conversely, the later texts now and then write **wolcnrēad**, for **w(i)ol(o)crēad**, *scarlet*).

NOTE 3. In late texts the preposition **on** is frequently shortened to **a** (ā?) when it occurs in a compound word or stereotyped phrase: **adrēdan**, *fear*; **aƿōn**, *receive*, for **ondrēdan**, **onƿōn**; **abūtan**, *about*; **amang**, *among*; **aweg**, *away*; **ariht**, *aright*, for **onbūtan**, *on gemong*, **onweg**, **onriht**, etc. Only occasionally does the transitional **o** occur: **omiddan**, *amid*; **oniht**, *o' nights*; **owōpe**, *lachrymose*.

NOTE 4. Syllabic **n** occasionally disappears between **s** and **l** in *ondrysllic*, *horrible*, for *ondrysnllc*.

NOTE 5. Only in very late WS. does **n** occasionally disappear in the **r**-cases of *mīn*, *my*; *ſīn*, *thy*; *ān*, *one*: gen. sing. fem. *mīre*, *ſīre*, *āre*, etc.

B. NON-SONOROUS CONSONANTS

1. LABIALS

P

189. **p** is the surd labial stop. It is rare as an initial in Germanic words: *pæθ*, *path*; *pād*, *cloak*; *plega*, *play*; but more frequent in foreign words like *pund*, *pound*; *pīl*, *arrow*; *pytt*, *pit*. On the other hand, it is common in the medial and final positions: *helpan*, *help*; *weorpan*, *cast*; *scearp*, *sharp*; *wāpen*, *weapon*; and is frequently geminated, as in *up(p)*, *up*; *topp*, *top*; *loppe*, *flea*; *æppel*, *apple*; *scieppan*, *create*.

p always remains unchanged; only **pn** sometimes becomes **mn** in *wāmn*, *wāmnian*, from *wāpen*, *weapon*; *wāpnian*, *arm*. **p** interchanges with **f** in the rare *cnafa*, beside *cnapa*, *boy*.

NOTE. For the change of **p** to **f** before **t** in Germ. see 232; for the metathesis of **sp** to **ps** see 204. 3.

b

190. In the majority of texts **b** is the sign for the sonant labial stop. It occurs in the simple form only as an initial: *bindan*, *bind*; *bringan*, *bring*; *blōd*, *blood*; in the medial and final positions as a geminate: *habban*, *have*; *libban*, *live*; *węb(b)*, *web*; *sīb(b)*, *kin*; and in the

combination *mb*: *lomb*, *lamb*; *cumbol*, *standard*; *symbol*, *banquet*. When medial or final, simple *b* is replaced in Common OE. by *f*: *habban*, 2 and 3 sing. *hafast*, *hafað*; *wębb*, *web*, but *wefan*, *weave*; *hebban*, *heave*, pret. *hōf*, part. *hæfen*.

NOTE. In the main, *b* is stable; only rarely is there a change of final *b* to *p*, as in Kent. Gl. *lamp*, and total disappearance in *ym-*, *em-*, *around*, when the latter is used as a prefix.

For *bb* there is sometimes found *pb*, as in the proper noun *Pypba*.

191. In the oldest texts (especially Ep.) *b* also designates the sound of a sonant spirant, either labial or labiodental. It was then pronounced like the English *v*, a sound which was afterwards represented by *f* (192. 2; cf. also 194); so, for example, in Ep. *obær*, *hebuc*, *halbæ*, *earbed*; Cod. Dipl. *giaban*, *hlābard*; even as a final: Ep. *gloob*, *hualb*, *salb*; Cod. Dipl. *gib*, *ob*, etc., for EWS. *ofer*, *hafuc*, *healfe*, *earfoð*-, *giefan*, *hlāford*, *glōf*, *hwealf*, *sealf*, *gif*, *of*.

f

192. *f* has a twofold character, as standing for the surd and for the sonant labiodental spirant, English *f* and English *v*:

1) It is uniformly a surd spirant when initial, as in *fæder*, *father*; *findan*, *find*; when geminated in the medial position, as in *gaffetung*, *derision*; *hōffing*, *circle*; *wōffian*, *rage*; *snoffa*, *nausea*; *wlæffetere*, *jester*; *pyffan*, *puff*; *abyffan*, *mutter*; *lyffetan*, *flatter*; the proper names *Offa*, *Uffe*, *Wuffa*, and the foreign word *offrian*, *offer*; in the combinations *ft* and *fs*, as in *hæft*,

captive ; *gesceaft*, *creature* ; *ræfsan*, *censure* ; and originally whenever it corresponds, as medial or final, to Germ. *f*, as in *wulf*, *wolf* ; *fif*, *five* (see note 2).

NOTE 1. Lat. *v* is represented by OE. *f* in *fers*, *verse*.

2) On the other hand, it is usually a sonant spirant in the medial position, whenever it does not occur in one of the combinations *ff*, *ft*, *fs*. It corresponds partly to a Germ. *f*, Goth. *f*, OHG. *f*, *v*, as in *wulf*, gen. *wulfes*, *wolf* ; *gerēfa*, *reeve* ; *hofer*, *hump* (OHG. *wolf*, *grāvo*, *hovar*, etc.), and partly to a Germ. *þ*, Goth. *b*, OHG. *b*, as in *ofer*, *over* ; *giefan*, *give* ; *earfoð*, *labor* ; *sealfian*, *anoint* (OHG. *ubar*, *geban*, *arbeit*, *salbōn*). In loan-words it frequently corresponds to Lat. *b* (or to the Romanic *f* derived from it): *tæfl*, *tablet* ; *trifot*, *tribute* ; *fēfor*, *fever* ; *prōfian*, *prove* ; *cyrfet*, *pumpkin*, from *tabula*, *tributum*, *febris*, *probare*, *cucurbita* ; or to Lat. *v*, as in *cealfre*, from *calvaria* ; *lufesticce*, *loveage*, from *levisticum* ; *brēfian*, *shorten*, from *breviare* ; *Muntgiof*, from *Montem Jovis* ; finally, to Lat. *p* (Romanic *b*, *v*?) : *prafost*, *profost*, from *praepositus*.

NOTE 2. The etymological distinction between the two sounds which coincide in OE. *f* is preserved scarcely anywhere but in Ep., and there only to a limited degree ; in this text forms like *uulfes*, *girēfa*, *hofer*, etc. are contrasted with such as *obær*, *earbet-*, *salb*, *salve*, etc. (Beitr. 11. 542 ff.) ; yet even Ep. has already some *f*'s for *b*, as in *ofær*, *sifun-*. The use of *f* for both sounds then increases very rapidly, and soon becomes a fixed rule. The *b* persists for some time only before *r* in *næbre*, *never* (frequently in Cura Past.), beside *næfre*, and in the syncopated cases of *fēfor*, *fever*, gen. *febres* (*febbres*, 229) ; also frequently in the poet. *tiber*, *sacrifice*, etc.

For WS. Kent. Merc. (Ps. R.¹) *dīofol*, *dēofol*, *-ul*, *devil*, North. singularly has R.² *dīowul* (only twice *dīaful*, *-ol*), L. *dīobul*, *dīubol*,

dīowl, **dīul**, etc. (only once **dīofles**), **Rit. dīobul**, **dīovl**, **dīol**, **infl. dīobl-**, **dīovl-**, **divol-**; probably these forms are influenced by Celtic parallels.

NOTE 3. Gemination of the sonant spirant **v** does not occur in OE., its place being taken by **bb** (190).

NOTE 4. At a decidedly late period **f** is occasionally found for **w**: **stānhifet**, *quarry*; **glēof**, *glowed*; **hlēf**, *barrow*, for **-hīwet**, **glēow**, **hlāw**.

193. Except for the interchange with **b** (191) and **v** (194), **f** is tolerably stable in OE. Exceptions are as follows:

1) In the oldest texts **pt** sometimes represents the usual **ft**: **Ep. scæpt**, *shaft*; **edscaept**, *palingenesis*; **gidopta**, *comrade* (for **scæft**, **edscaeft**, **giðofta**); but side by side with these occur **siftit**, *sifts*; **nift**, *niece*, etc. (cf. 221, note 1), and even **bt**, as in **Corp. cnēo-riht**, *knee-cloth*.

2) **fn** (with sonant **f**) frequently passes into **mn**, especially when medial, and more particularly in later OE. (189): **emne**, *even*; **stemn**, *voice*; **stēmn**, *stem*, from **efne**, **stefn**, **stēfn** (for later **mm**, **m** cf. 188.1); so likewise **LOE. wimman**, plur. **wimmen**, from **wifmōn**, *woman*.

NOTE. This change does not take place in the verbs **æfnan**, **efnan**, and **ræfnan**, *perform*, presumably because the **f** is a surd.

V

194. In foreign words of late adoption, like **Dāuid**, **Ēue**, **Lēui**, **v**, or rather **MS. u**, denotes the sound of the Latin **v** (identical with the OE. sonant labiodental spirant); hence these words are occasionally written **Efe**, (gen.) **Lēfes**, (but not ***Ēwe**). Earlier loan-words, on the other hand, rather generally replace Lat. **v** (**u**) by **f** (192.2; but cf. also 171, note 3).

In OE. words *u* is employed in the earlier period to represent the semivowel *w* (171, note 1); more rarely to denote the sonant labiodental spirant, as in *Auene* (proper noun), *yuel*, *selua*, for *Afene*, *yfel*, *selfa*. The latter designation does not gain ground till later.

2. DENTALS

t

195. *t* always stands for the surd dental stop, and is common in all positions: *tōð*, *tooth*; *trēo*, *tree*; *tien*, *ten*; *etan*, *eat*; *heorte*, *heart*; *wāt*, *knows*. It is frequently geminated, as in *sceat(t)*, *sceattes*, *money*; *settan*, *set*; *hlūttor*, *clear*; *hätte*, *is called* (367, note); *grētte*, *greeted*, etc. For the combinations *ft*, *st*, *ht*, see 232; cf. also 193. 1; 221, note 1.

196. *t* is almost without exception stable. The only exceptions are the following:

1) In EWS. (especially in the Hatton MS. of the Cura Past.) *st* very frequently changes to *sð*, particularly in the termination of the ind. pres. 2 sing.: *ðú giefesð*, *hilpesð*, etc.; also in words like *fæsð*, *fast*; *dūsð*, *dust*; *wæsðm*, *growth*; *áðrisðrigan*, *obscure*; *wāsð*, *knowest*, and superlatives like *mæsð*, *most*; *æresð*, *erst*, for *giefest*, *hilpest*, *fæst*, etc.

2) For WS. *tl* in *botl*, *building*; *setl*, *seat*; *spätl*, *spittle*, North. has *-ðl*, *-ðel* when final: L. R. *seðel* (dat. *seðile* Rit.); this becomes *dl* when medial, as in gen. *sedles*, plur. *sedlo*; dat. *spädle* (compare *bydla*, *inhabitant*); *ðl*, as in *seðles*, *boðle*, etc. Bede; beside *tl*,

ttl, as in **WS.**: nom. **seatul**, **sættil**, plur. **setla**, **settlas**, etc. **L.** In **Ps.** **ld** is the regular substitute for **tl** in **seld** (183. 2. *a*), the only one of this group occurring in this text; while **seld**, **bold** are common in poetry, beside **setl**, **botl** (**spāld** **El.** 300). Here the basic sound is everywhere **p** (201).

NOTE 1. These by-forms are almost entirely unknown to **WS.** prose, though there are certain somewhat doubtful instances of **bold** and **seld**.

NOTE 2. Beside **WS.** **botm**, *bottom*, there occurs once **byðme**, *carina* (**Shrine** 103), in a text which is strongly colored by Anglian peculiarities.

3) The combination **tj** (whether with orig. **j** or with the spirant **g**, 211) passes into **c** or **cc** in **orceard**, *garden*, beside **ort-geard** (as early as **Cura Past.**; also **orcgeard**, **LWS.** **orcerd**, **ordceard**); **LWS.** **cræfca**, *mechanic* (also **cræftca**, and, with secondary middle vowel, **cræftica**), beside **cræftga**, from the adj. **cræftig**, *skilful*; and pure **WS.** **fēc(e)an**, *fetch*, beside dial. **fetian** (416, note 15. *b*); so the sporadic **Muncgīu Wulfst.**, for usual **Muntgīof**, *Montem Jovis* (192. 2); cf. 205, note 1; 206. 4; 216, note 2.

NOTE 3. Ecchylipsis of **t** sometimes takes place in consonant-combinations, especially after **h**, **s**: **drohnian**, **ŭrisnes**, **fæsnian**, **genihsun**, for **drohtnian**, **ŭristnes**, **fæstnian**, **genihtsun** (cf. 198. 4; 359, note 1).

NOTE 4. Conversely, and especially at a subsequent period, **t** is sometimes inserted between **s** and **l**: **elmeſtilic-**, *eleemosynary*; **ondryſtilic**, *dreadful*; and frequently **mīſtilic**, *various*, for **ælmeſlic**, **ondryſlic** (**ondryſnlic**, 188, note 4), **mīſlic**; and probably **mæſtling**, for **mæſling**, *brass*.

NOTE 5. For **OE.** **st** for **sð** see 201. 6; for **t**, **tt** from **tð**, **dð** see 201. 4.

d

197. **d** is the sign for the sonant dental stop, and corresponds, as a rule, to the Gothic **d**. It may occur in any position, and is subject to gemination: **dæg**, *day*; **drīfan**, *drive*; **dweorg**, *dwarf*; **eald**, *old*; **eardian**, *dwell*; **biddan**, *request*, etc.

Only in very ancient manuscripts does **d** stand for **ḡ**, **p** (199, note 1).

NOTE. In loan-words **d** sometimes occurs for Romanic **d** < Lat. **t**: **abbod**, *abbot*; **Læden**, *Latin*, from Lat. *abbatem*, *Latinum*, etc.

198. **d** is generally stable, but the following facts are to be noted:

A

1) **d** experiences grammatical change with **p** (234).

2) **ld** corresponds in part to Goth. **ld**, as in **ceald**, *cold*; **healdan**, *hold*, and in part sprang from an older **lp**; similarly WS. **dl** frequently sprang from **pl** (201. 2, 3).

3) **ldl** becomes **ll** in **siellic**, *peculiar* (Goth. **sildaleiks**), and likewise occasionally in North.: **ballice**, *boldly*; **mōnig-**, *tui-*, **seofofallice**, *mani-*, *two-*, *sevenfold* (for and beside **baldlice**, *-faldlice*); **hēhstallc**, *virginal*, etc.

4) Before and after surds **d** becomes **t**:

a) for example, in the ind. pres. 2 sing., as in **bitst**, **lætst**, **bintst**, **stęntst** (359. 2), from **biddan**, **lædan**, **bindan**, **stōndan**; **miltst**, *sympathy*, **miltstian**, *compassionate* (from **milde**); **gitsian**, *covet*; **bletsian**, *bless*; and in compound words like **mętsceat**, **antsacodon**, **gesuntfulnes** Cura Past., for **męd-**, **and-**, **gesund-**. Yet the spelling is often conformed to the etymology: **bindst**, **mildst**, **mildstian** (rare WS. **gįdstian**, **bledstian**, but always **bledstian** in the Ps., and usually North.

bloedsiga L. Rit., contrasted with **bletsiga** R.²), or **d**, **t** is lost after consonants: **mils**, **milsian**, etc., **binst**, **stēnst** (359. 2). For **t** from **dþ** see 201. 4 ;

b) particularly in the weak pret. and past part. of verbs with long stems, like **scēncte**, **īecte** (405. 4).

5) After consonant + **d**, **t**, there is loss of **d**, as in pret. **sēnde**, **ēhte**, from **sēndan**, **ēhtan** (405. 4).

NOTE 1. **d** is sometimes inserted between **n** and **l**: **endlufon**, *eleven* (Goth. **ainlif**), and especially in adjectives ending in orig. **-enlic**, like **qndrysendlic**, *horrible*, etc.

NOTE 2. Final **d** has disappeared in proclitic **qn-** from **qnd-**, as in **qnfōn**, *receive*; **qngletan**, *understand*; **qnsa'can**, *oppose*; compare **qndfenga**, *receiver*; **qndglet**, *intellect*; **qndsaca**, *opponent*, etc. This led to occasional erroneous substitution of stressed **o'nd-**, **a'nd-** for stressed **q'n-**, **a'n-** (OHG. *ana-*): **a'ndweald**, *power*; **a'ndwealh**, *complete*; **a'ndsȳn**, *face*, for **o'nweald**, **o'nwealg**, **o'nsien**; even **a'ndclēow**, *ankle*, for **o'nclēow** (OHG. *anchlāo*).

ð, þ

199. 1) The two letters **ð** and **þ** originally denoted without distinction the dental spirant which is now represented in Eng. by **th** (200). German (more rarely English) editors and grammarians have long been accustomed to print **þ** as initial, and **ð** as medial and final; yet German editors are now beginning to follow the haphazard arrangement of the manuscripts. In the course of this work we propose to follow the best older manuscripts (like *Cura Past. Ps. L. R.*², and the oldest charters), which more or less uniformly employ **ð**; we use **ð** in general for historical forms, but **þ** side by side with it in special quotations, and for the citation of prehistoric basal forms of sounds or words.

NOTE 1. In the oldest texts there is scarcely any trace of either character; Ep. has but a very few examples of either, and the same is true of the oldest charters. The earliest dated *θ* (*pæθ*) I find in a charter of Wihtred of Kent, A.D. 700-715; the earliest dated *þ* (*Ælfþryð*) in a charter of Cōenwulf of Mercia, A.D. 811; but throughout the whole of the ninth century *þ* is but sparingly employed. A sporadic exception for this oldest period is formed by Corpus, with its frequent *þ*, and for the later period by the Lauderdale MS. of Orosius and R.¹, which are sharply distinguished from Cura Past. and R.² by the regular employment of *þ*.

Instead of *θ*, *þ*, the oldest texts generally employ *th* in the initial position: *thorn*, *thegn*; very rarely *d*, as in *gidopta* Ep. 195, *mōdgidanc* Cædmon's Hymn; in the medial position, *th* and *d*: *lotha*, *loda* Ep., *Æthil-*, *Ædil-* Cod. Dipl. (in lieu of *θθ* is written *thth*, *tht*: *æththæ*, *othte*, *or*); in the final position for the most part *th*: *mearth*, *laath*, *hrīosith*, *snīuulth* Ep., but sometimes *t*: *siftit*, *fæhit*, *stridit* Ep., *Cuutfert*, *Cuutfertth*, *Sūtangl* Cod. Dipl.

2) *θ*, *þ* may occur in any position, and both may undergo gemination: *θing*, *thing*; *θrī*, *three*; *θwitan*, *cut*; *weorðan*, *become*; *morð*, *murder*; *oððe*, *or*; *sceððan*, *injure*; *siððan*, *since*; or *þing*, *pri*, *weorþan*, *opþe* (*oðþe*), etc.

NOTE 2. For *θθ* the North. has *hθ* in *mohθe*, *mohθa*, *moth*.

NOTE 3. In loan-words *θ* sometimes corresponds to a Romanic *θ* < Lat. *t*, *d*: *moraθ*, *spiced wine*; *sæθerige*, *savory*; *senoθ*, *synod*; from Lat. *meratum*, *satureia*, *synodus*, etc.

200. The *þ* of Germanic represented only a surd spirant, and this pronunciation must be postulated as the original one for OE. *θ*, *þ*. Yet it is quite possible that the original sound had already been differentiated in OE. into surd and sonant, the sonant occurring between voiced sounds (192.2; 203). In favor of this view may be adduced

- 1) the spelling of the oldest MSS., which employ medial **d** (199, note 1);
- 2) the retention of the group **ðd** (201. 5; 405. 1);
- 3) the passage of **lþ** into **ld**, and of **pl** into **dl** (with sonant stop, 201. 2, 3).

201. With regard to the conversions of **p** the following observations apply:

- 1) **p** undergoes grammatical change with **d** (234).

NOTE 1. In certain words **p** interchanges with **d**, especially in (**h**)**ræð**, (**h**)**ræd**, *quick*, adv. (**h**)**raðe**, (**h**)**rade**. **p** is characteristic for Ps. **ēðr**, *vein*; Ps. North. **frēmðe**, *foreign*, for WS. **ædr**, **frēnde**; so **eðcuide**, *relatio* Corp.; **eðwītia**, *censure* L.; **eðwītsype** Waldere, **yðlēcan** Kent. Gl., for WS. **ed-**, *back*.

2) Older **lþ** passes into **ld**: **beald**, *bold*; **feld**, *field*; **wilde**, *wild*; **gold**, *gold*; **hold**, *gracious*; **wuldor**, *glory* (Goth. **balps**, **wilpeis**, **gulf**, etc.). Occasionally **lð** occurs, but exclusively in the oldest documents: **halð**, **ðhælði**, **spilth** Ep.; **Balthhæardi** Cod. Dipl., A.D. 732; **Balthhardi**, A.D. 740. The **lþ** which is due to syncope suffers no further change: **fielð**, *falls*; **gesælfðu**, *success*, etc.

3) Older **pl**, when occurring after a long vowel, regularly becomes **dl** in WS.: **ādī**, *sickness*; **nædl**, *needle*; **wædla**, *beggar*; **mīdl**, *bit*; **wīdlan**, *defile*. The Anglian texts, however, frequently retained the **pl**: **næþl** Ep., **mīþl** Corp., **nēþl**, **wēþla** Ps. (no **dl** in Ps.), **āþl**, **wæðelnes**, *poverty* Bede; North. has usually **ādī**, **nēdl**, **wīdliga**, beside rarer **āþl**, **wīðliga**. On the other hand, the **pl** which is due to syncope suffers no further change: **ēðel**, *house* (from ***ōþil**), gen. **ēðles**; the proper noun **Hrēðel**, gen. **Hrēðles**; **geniðla**, *enemy*, etc.

NOTE 2. The quantity of *æ* is doubtful in the poetical *mæðl*, *speech*; *mæðlan*, *converse* (beside *maðellan*), but it is usually printed as short.

þ is lost in *mæðl*, *mæðlan*, and in *stælan*, *found*; *stælwierðe*, *stalwart*, beside *staðol*, *foundation*; *staðellan*, *found*.

NOTE 3. Similarly, LWS. *ðm* passes into *dm* in the inflected forms of *māðum*, *treasure*, gen. *māðmes*, plur. *māðmas*, for EWS. *māðmes*, *māðmas*, and in *ēadmōð*, *humble*, for EWS. *ēaðmōð*; so North. *ðn* becomes *dn* in *hæðen*, *heathen*, infl. *hædna* (beside rare *hæðna*), etc. L. (not R.²)

NOTE 4. For *ðl*, *ðm*, beside WS. *tl*, *tm*, see 196. 2, and note 2.

4) *tþ* and *dþ* become *tt*, which is simplified when final and when following a consonant:

a) *ðætte*, *that*, for *ðæt ðe* (so looser combinations like *ðættā*, *ðættæt*, from *ðæt ðā*, *ðæt ðæt*); *bit*, *it(t)*, for **biþp*, **itþ* (359. 3).

b) *ēaðmētto*, *humility*; *ofermētto*, *arrogance*; *wēamētto*, *grief*; *lāttēow*, *leader*; *brýtofta*, *spousals*; *mittý*, *while*; *gesyntu*, *health*; *gescēntu*, *shame*; verbal forms like *bit*, *bint* (359. 3); for **ēapmēdþu* (from *ēaðmōð*, *humble*), *lādðēow*, *mid ðý*, **gesyndþu*, **gescēndþu* (255. 3), *biddþ*, etc. The spelling is at times conformed to the etymology, as in *lātpēow*, *lādtēow*, and such forms are the regular ones when the *t* or *d* and the *þ* belong to different words. The assimilation of initials and finals is not carried out with entire consistency until we come to later texts, like the *Ormulum*.

5) *þd* (with sonant *ð*? 200. 2) is mostly preserved, and does not pass into *dd* till a late period (405. 2); *þþ* is likewise retained, and is simplified when final only in certain cases according to 231; *cýð(ð)*, *kith*, gen. *cýððe*; *læðð(u)*, *affliction*, from **kunþþa*, **laipþa*, etc.

6) *sþ* becomes *st*, though the etymological spelling often holds its ground as *sð*: so in the verbs *cīest*,

wlæxt, beside **ciesθ**, **wlæxθ** (359. 8); in abstract nouns ending in **-θu**, like **mæteliestu**, *lack of food*; **rēceliestu**, *recklessness*; also when final **s** and initial **θ** come together in the 2 sing. of the verb, as in **hilpestu**, **hafastu** (from **hilpes θu**, **hafas θu**), from which the later and usual forms of the 2 sing. in **-st** are then deduced (356).

NOTE 5. For WS. **sθ** from older **st** see 196. 1.

7) **ps** is often retained in **bliθs**, *bliss*; **bliθslan**, *rejoice*; **liθs**, *mildness* (perhaps only etymological spelling), but usually passes into **ss**: **bliss**, **blissian**, **liss** (with short vowel?); so also **cwist** (**cwist**?), from **cwiθest**, **cwiθst**.

NOTE 6. In late texts **hw**- sometimes occurs for **pw**-, especially in Hpt. Gl.: for example, **gehwærlæcan**, for **gepwærlæcan**, *assent* (Archiv 88. 185-186). How far this signifies an actual phonetic change, and how far it is a mere clerical blunder, is not easy to determine.

S

202. **s** is one of the commonest sounds of OE., may occupy any position in the word, and is also subject to gemination: **sunu**, *son*; **sittan**, *sit*; **sceal**, *shall*; **sprecan**, *speak*; **stōndan**, *stand*; **slæpan**, *sleep*; **smæl**, *small*; **snottor**, *wise*; **sweltan**, *die*; medially and finally: **cēosan**, *choose*; **wesan**, *be*; **fisc**, *fish*; **giest**, *guest*; **cosp**, *fetter*; **cyssan**, *kiss*; **assa**, *ass*, etc. Combined with preceding **c**, **h**, it becomes **x** (209; 221. 2).

203. The sound of Germ. **s** was only that of a surd sibilant; and in like manner OE. **s** was at first undoubtedly a surd, as Germ. sonant **z** had either become **r** or been entirely lost (181; 182). However, it is not impossible that the modern Eng. change to a sonant spirant

(French and English *z*) did already take place to some extent between voiced sounds in OE., as in preterits like *liesde*, *rāesde*, from *liesan*, *rāesan*, contrasted with such as *cyste* from *cyssan* (405. 4; 200; but also 198. 4).

204. Concerning the *s* it is especially to be observed:

1) There is grammatical change between *s* and *r* (234).

2) For the combinations *st* and *ss* from dental + *t* see 232; for *st* from *sp*, 201. 6; *sō* from *st*, 196; *ss* from *sr*, 180; *ss* from *ps*, 201. 7; for *scl*, *scn*, *scm*, instead of *sl*, *sn*, *sm*, 210. 1.

3) The combinations *sc* and *sp*, especially in later WS. and when medial, often undergo metathesis to *cs* (*hs*), but usually *x*, and *ps*: *āscian*, *ask*; *wascan*, *wash*; *asce*, *ashes*; *fiscas*, *fishes*; *tūscas*, *tusks*; but also *ācsian* (*āhsian*, *āxian*), *waxan*, *axe*, *fixas*, *tūxas*. So also *betwux*, *between* (329); *muxle*, *mussel*, etc.; then *cosp* and *cops*, *fetter*; *æsp* and *æps*, *aspen*; *wlisp* and *wlips*, *lipping*; *cirpsian*, *crisp* (cf. 179).

NOTE. *ssc* often occurs for *sc* in *bissce(o)p*, beside *bisc(e)op*, etc., *bishop*.

z

205. The sound of German *z* is strange to Germanic; it therefore appears in OE. only *a*) in foreign words, or *b*) where vowel-syncope has brought together *t*, *d* (*p*) + *s*. Its commonest designation is *ts*: *a*) *Atsur* (proper noun; ON. *Qzurr*); *Magentse*, *Mayence*; *dracentse*, *dracontia*; *palentse*, *palatium*; *yntse*, *ounce*; *b*) plur. *brytsena*, *bits* (from *brēotan*, 384); *betsta*, *best*; *milts*, *gitsian*, *bletsian*, *bitst*, *lætst*, *bintst*, *stęntst*, etc. (198. 4); more

rarely **ds**: **Adsur**, **yndse**; especially in etymological spelling: **milds**, **gīdsian**, etc. (198. 4).

NOTE 1. Very rare is **z**: **Azur**, **draconze**, **balzam**, **balsam**; LWS. **bezt**, **milze**, Merc. R.¹ **bæzere**, *baptist*; then **dz**: **Adzur**, R.¹ **bædzere**; or **tz**: Corp. **mertze**, *merz*; or finally **c**: **ynce**; North. (L. Rit.) **bæcere**, and **plæce**, *street* (from Lat. *platea*; also before a guttural vowel, dat. **plæcum**, beside plur. **plætsa** R.²), if this does not belong to 196. 3 (but cf. note 2).

NOTE 2. After **n**, **l** there is a frequent loss of **t** from **ts**, especially in LWS.: **yNSE**, **dragense**, but especially often in the inflection: **binst**, **stēnst**, **welst** (198. 4; 359. 2). Thus after vowels only in the North. dat. **plæsum** R.²

3. GUTTURALS AND PALATALS

206. *In general.* 1) The letters **c** (**k**, **q**), **g**, **h** (**x**) represent in OE. both gutturals and palatals. These were sharply distinguished from each other both etymologically and phonetically. In contrast to this, Germ. probably had only one class of corresponding sounds, to which we must assign guttural (or indeterminate) articulation.

2) The following are the chief rules governing the division in OE.:

a) Initial **c**, **g** became palatal **č**, **ǵ** as early as Prim. OE. before the primary palatal vowels **æ**, **ǣ** (= Germ. **ä**, Lat. **ā**), **e**, **i**, **ī**, and the diphthongs **ēa** (from **au**), **ēo**, **īo** (from **eu**), and their **i**-umlauts, WS. **e**, **ǣ**, **ie**, **īe** (unstable **ī**, **ȳ**), etc., but remained guttural before the guttural vowels **a**, **ā** (**ǣ**, **ǣ̅**), **o**, **ō**, **u**, **ū**, and their **i**-umlauts, WS. **æ**, **ǣ**, **e**, **ē** (**œ**, **œ̅**), **y**, **ȳ** (7, note), as well as before consonants. Hence their diphthongizing effect upon

the primary palatal vowels and their umlauts, but not upon the other vowels (74-76. 1).

b) Initial *sc* was already palatalized to *sc̥* before primary palatal vowels as early as Prim. OE., like simple *é*, and hence exerted influences precisely similar. The palatalization of *sc* before originally guttural vowels is later; its effect on adjoining vowels is therefore different (76. 2).

c) Medial *c* and *g* (including their geminates, *cc* and *cg*, 207; 216) become in Prim. OE. the palatals *č* and *ǵ* (*čč*, *ǵǵ*), certainly before older *i*, *j*, and perhaps at least in part before older *æ*, and retain this character even after the *j* has disappeared (177) or the *i*, *æ* have been weakened to *e* (44).

d) In a similar manner orig. *sc* is divided into an *sc̥* with older palatalization before *i*, *j* (or *æ*?), and one with later palatalization (cf. *b*, above).

e) Preceding palatal vowels exert a palatal influence on *g*, *c*, *sc* at the end of a syllable, yet the OE. itself gives us few definite criteria concerning the extent of this influence (but cf., for example, note 6).

NOTE 1. In the inflection and word-formation there is often an occasion for the alternation of palatal and guttural sounds, together with an occasion for reciprocal leveling, but the extent of this we have scarcely any means of determining.

f) Initial *h* is a mere breath, and therefore undergoes no noticeable change. After a vowel, however, it was originally, as the breakings (82 ff.) show, always of a guttural nature. However, it seems even under these circumstances to have undergone later palatalization, especially under the influence of preceding palatals.

3) The criteria which OE. furnishes for the occurrence of palatalization are in part phonetic, and in part merely graphic. Here we must especially note :

a) The palatalization of initial *c*, *g*, and *sc* is testified by the WS. diphthongization of primary palatal vowels (75); the later palatalization of *sc* before guttural vowels by the spellings *scea-*, *sceo-*, etc. (76. 2); the palatalization of *g* by its points of contact with *i* and *j* (212 ff.).

b) To indicate palatal pronunciation there is frequently an insertion of a palatal vowel between the medial palatals *c*, *g*, or *sc* and a following guttural vowel. Before *a* and *o* this is generally *e* (rarely in old texts *i*); *lāceas*, *lācea*; *rīcea* (246); *sēcean*, *reccan*, *ŕencean* (407); *fylgean* (416, note 9); *licgean* (372); *seçgean* (416); *flæscea*, gen. plur. of *flāesc*, *flesh* (267, a); *æscan*, gen. dat. acc. sing. of *æsce*, *desire* (278; basic form **aiskjō*); *ādwæscan*, *smother*; *ofðryscan*, *suppress* (403 ff.; on forms like *mennescea*, with later palatalization, see 76, note 4), beside forms like *lācas*, *-a*, *rīca*, *sēcan*, *reccan*, *ŕencan*; *fylgan*, *licgan*, *seçgan*; *flāesca*, *æscan*, *ādwæscan*, *ofðryscan*, etc.; or *menigeo*, *strengéo*, *wlenceo* (279), *gefylceo*, *stlicceo* (246; also *gefylcio*, *gescincio*), *andfengeost* (from *andfenge*, *agreeable*, 298), beside *menigo*, *strengo*, *wlenco*, *gefylco*, etc.

In a similar manner, *i* is sometimes inserted before *u*: *dręncium*, *ęctium*, *drýggium*, from *dręnc*, *drink* (265); *ęce*, *eternal*; *drýge*, *dry* (298), beside *dręncum*, *ęcum*, *drýgum*, etc.; *e* is used here only seldom: *ęceum*, *wæceum* (from *wæcce*, *watch*, 278).

NOTE 2. No auxiliary vowel is used before *e*, but the oldest texts have occasionally an *i* before *æ* (44, note 1): *birciæ*, *birch*; *hringiaë*, *fibula* Ep.

NOTE 3. OE. Runic writing distinguishes the different phonetic values by special characters; the rune *gifu* designates palatal *ǵ*, and the rune *gār* the guttural *g*; for the sounds of *c* the Ruthwell Cross inscription has three different characters, of which two almost certainly denote *č* and *c* (compare Vietor, *Die North. Runensteine*, pp. 24, 31).

NOTE 4. Late manuscripts often write *k* before palatal vowels, to denote the guttural sound (207, note 2).

4) The palatal stops *č* and (*c*)*ǵ* became at a rather early period palatal fricatives, that is, sounds like Eng. *ch* and *dg*. This is shown by forms like *orceed*, *fēccean* (Eng. *orchard*, *fetch*), etc. (196.3), *micgern* (216, note 2).

NOTE 5. This change is carried through Middle English and remains in Modern English; it is the surest criterion for the old palatalization of stops. For the initial position compare Eng. *chaff*, *cheap*, *churl*, *chew*, *child*, *chill*, *cheese* = OE. *ceaf*, *cēap*, *ceorl*, *cēowan*, *cild*, *ciele* (*cyle*), *cīese* (*cýse*); but *key*, *Kent*, *keen*, *kin*, *king*, *kiss* = OE. *cæg*, *Cent*, *cēne*, *cyn*, *cynling*, *cyssan*, etc.; for the medial position: *rich*, *reach*, *teach* = OE. *rice*, *rācean*, *tācean*; or *bridge*, *hedge*, *singe* = OE. *brycg*, *hecg*, *sengean*, etc.

NOTE 6. This change to fricatives is especially important, because it enables us to recognize palatalizations which we could hardly discover by means of the OE. alone. So the *c* at the end of a syllable after *i*, as in *pić*, *pićh*; *dić*, *dićh*; *ić*, *I* (ME. *ich*); *hwilć* (from **hwille*), *whić*; *swilć* (from **swalle*), *such*, etc. (compare also the Runic *ić*, Ruthwell Cross, with its character for palatal *c*, note 3).

NOTE 7. On the whole question see especially Kluge, *Literaturblatt für Germ. und Rom. Philologie* 1887, pp. 113–114, and Paul's *Grundr.* 1. 836 ff.

5) A special designation of palatal pronunciation, like a diacritical sign, is not regularly employed in the sections which follow.

c (k, q ; x)

207. **c** is the character for the surd guttural stop and the surd palatal stop. It stands before all vowels, even **e, i, y**: *cāsere, emperor*; *cosp, fetter*; *cūð, known*; as well as *cennan, beget*; *ceald, cold*; *cēosan, choose*; *cild, child*; *cynn, kin*; medially: *sacan, quarrel*; *swicol, deceptive*; *sacu, quarrel*; *æcer, field*; *hōcihte, curved*; also geminated: *sac, sacces, sack*; *ðeccan, cover, etc.*

NOTE 1. For **cw** see 208; for **ct** instead of **ht**, 221, note 1; for **ce, ci**, as denoting palatal **c**, 206. 3. *b*.

NOTE 2. Now and then the MSS. (very often R.¹, for example) write **k** for **c**: *kennan, kēne, knēo, folkes, æcker, giok*; and likewise **ck** for **cc**: *ðicke*. This **k** is found somewhat more frequently before **y**, or the **i** which has sprung from it (31): *kynn, kyning, kyne* in compound words (likewise *kinning, king*) for *tynn, etc.* (so frequently as early as Cura Past.). Probably the **k** is intended to denote the guttural sound (206, note 4).

208. The sound of the Latin **qu** is generally denoted by **cw**, or, in the older texts, by **cu**: *cweðan, cwic, cwōmon, older cueðan, cuic, cuōmun*. Only rarely in the oldest texts is the Latin **qu** employed as a substitute, as in *quidu* Ep.; *Quēnðrýð* Cod. Dipl., A.D. 811 (not infrequently in Corp.).

209. For **cs** (due to the syncope of a vowel, or to metathesis of **sc**) **x** is usually found: *rixian, reign*; *æx, ax*; *āxian, ask*; *axe, ashes* (204. 3); *betweox, between* (329, note 1); for and sometimes beside *ricsian* (OHG. *richisōn*), *ācsian, etc.*

NOTE. Besides **x** and **cs** (the latter is especially common in words like *ricsian*, because of their visible relation to *rice*, etc.) several orthographical variants occur: **ex, hx, xs, cxs, hxs, hs**: *ricxian, āhxian, āhxsian, āhsian, rihsian, axse, ancxsumnys*; very seldom **gs**, as in *āgsian*; cf. also 221, note 3.

210. The following irregularities in regard to **c** are still to be noted:

1) **c** is occasionally inserted in the combinations **sl**, **sm**, **sn**: **scġāt** Corp. 433; **scleacnes**, **ásclacad** Kent. Gl. 694, 696; **scmēgende** Ps. 118. 129; **scnīcendan** Cura Past. 155. 17; **scġuncon** Ep. Alex. 320; **scġēp** Gen. marg., etc.

2) Before **-st** and **-ð**, the personal endings of the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing., LWS. **c** often becomes **h**; **tāhst**, **tāhð**, etc., for **tācst**, **tācð** (359.5); so also LWS. **lēahstūn** (North. **lēhtūn**), *garden*, for **lēactūn**.

3) North. final **c** often passes (Bouterwek, North. Ev. CXXXVIII, CXL) into **h** (written **ch**, and even **g**), especially in the conjunction **ah**, *but*, and the pronouns **ih** (as an enclitic likewise **ig**, as in **sægdig**, **forgeldig**, for **sægde ic**, **forgeldo ic**), **meh** (**mech**), **ðeh**, **ūsih** (**ūsich**, **ūsīg**), **iuih** (**iūh**) (332, note 4); **ah** instead of **ac** is also found in the other dialects.

4) Medial **c** in North. is often written **ch**: **folches**, **werches**, **wlōnches**, **swēnche**, **stēnches** R.² (Bouterwek, North. Ev. CXXXVIII).

NOTE. For **c** in place of **g** see 215. On the interchange of **cc** and **hh** see 220, note 2.

g

211. The letter **g** not only denotes the Germ. semi-vowel **j** (175. 2), but is also the symbol of a guttural or palatal sound, corresponding etymologically with Germ. **g**. From the fact that this sound alliterates with OE. **g** = Germ. **j**, and that it occasionally interchanges with

j and **h**, we are justified in inferring that it is to be regarded on the whole as a spirant, and not as a sonant stop.

212. Initially, **g** is a guttural spirant in the cases designated under 206. 2. *a*: **galan**, *sing*; **gāst**, *ghost*; **gold**, *gold*; **guma**, *man*; **gylden**, *golden*; **glæd**, *glad*; **gnorn**, *sorrow*; **grafan**, *dig*; also before WS. *æ*, as in **ætgædere**, *together* (75, note 1). On the other hand, it is a palatal spirant before *e*, **ĕa**, **ĕo**, *i*, **ĭe**, **ĭo**: **geldan**, *giel*; **giel**, *giel*; **geaf**, *gave*; **gĕafon**, *(they) gave*; **gĕotan**, *pour*; **gift**, *gift*, etc.

NOTE 1. Change to **j** is shown by **iarwan**, beside **gearwan** R.¹ = WS. **gierwan**, North. **gearwla** (408, note 3); likewise by Kent. **Æthilheard** Cod. Dipl., A.D. 732; **Ēaniard**, A.D. 778; **Æðelleard**, A.D. 805, for **-geard**, etc. Also in later (especially Kentish) texts **i** occasionally recurs for **g**: Gl. **lēmung**, *bliss*, **leteld**, for **gēmung**, *wedding*; **blgong**, *worship*; **geteld**, *tent*, etc.; occasionally also forms like **iarclan**, *prepare* (Benet), for WS. **gearclan**, etc. In such texts the prefix **ge-** appears also as **i-**, especially after **un-**: **unilic**, *unequal*; **unwemmed**, *unblemished* Hpt. Gl., etc. (so already **Beow.** **unigmetes**, *exceedingly*).

NOTE 2. The **g** is often lacking before **ĕa** and **ĕo** in late texts: **ealla**, *eador*, **ĕaglas**, *eorn*, **eogoð**, *eoce*, for **gealla**, *gall*; **geador**, *together*; **gĕaglas**, *jaws*; **georn**, *willingly*; **geogoð**, *youth*; **gĕoce**, *aid*. Late Kent., on the contrary, sometimes prefixes **g** to **ea**, **eo**: **gearfoðe**, **gĕaðe**, **geornest**, **ġgĕode**, **fulgĕode**, for **earfoðe**, *troublesome*; **ĕaðe**, *easy*; **eornest**, *earnest*; **ġgĕode**, *went*; **fulgĕode**, *helped* (even in Old Kent. in **Gēanberht** Cod. Dipl., A.D. 781). Both phenomena are no doubt to be explained by the circumstance that, after the shifting of stress in **ea**, **eo** (34, note), these diphthongs coincided in pronunciation with the older **gea**, **geo**, and therefore the two were no longer so clearly separated in spelling.

213. Medially and finally after vowels and **r**, **i**, the pronunciation varies between guttural and palatal spirant,

according to the principles laid down in 206. 2. *c, e*: **regn**, *rain*; **rignan**, *rain*; **dæges**, *by day*; **lagu**, *sea*; **drög**, *drew*; **beorgan**, *conceal*; **belgan**, *grow angry*. For **ge** as the representative of palatal **g** see 206. 3. *b*.

NOTE. For (palatal) **g** after **r, l** the digraph **ig** is not infrequently employed when the combination is preceded by **y, e, or i**, especially in later texts: **byrig** (284); **æbyligð**, *anger*; **myrigð**, **mirigð**, *mirth*, for **byrg**, **æbylgð**, **myrgð**, etc.; also in the interior of a word, as in **fyligan**, *follow*; **wyrgan**, *curse*; **merigen**, *morning*, for **fylgan**, **wyrgan**, **mergen** (cf. also 214. 2, 4 ff.). A **u** is rarely introduced before (guttural) **g**, when **u** precedes: **burug**, for **burg** (284, note 4).

214. That **g** is a spirant in the positions named above will be manifest upon a consideration of the following changes:

1) In the later documents (guttural) **g**, when final, passes more or less regularly into **h** after a long guttural vowel or **r, l**: **genōh**, *enough*; **bēah**, *ring*; **stāh**, *ascended*; **beorh**, *mountain*; **burh**, *borough*; **sorh**, *care*; **bealh**, *raged*, for **genōg**, **bēag**, **stāg**, **beorg**, **burg**, **sorg**, **bealg**: so also palatal **g** before surd consonants with which it combines as the result of syncope: **stihst**, *climbst*; **stihð**, *climbs*; **yrhðo**, *cowardice*, for **stigst**, **stigð**, **yrgho**. This change is more or less wanting in the older texts (wholly, for example, in Ps.).

NOTE 1. Final **h** occurs extremely seldom after a long palatal vowel: **stih**, *ascend*; **bēh**, *ring*, for **stīg**, **bēag** (108. 2). After a short vowel **h** is somewhat commoner: imp. **weh**, *weigh*; **wæh**, *weighed*; **ūtlah**, *outlaw*; **getoh**, *pull*; compounds like **lahbryce**, *-slite, infraction of law*; **hohmōd**, *anxious*; **hohful**, *careful*; North. especially in an unstressed syllable, as in **ðrītih**, *sextih*, **suinnih L.**, for **ðrītīg**, **sextīg**, **synnīg**.

NOTE 2. More rarely **h** occurs at the end of a syllable before a voiced consonant: **āhnlan**, *possess*; **āhlæca**, *demon*; **dihlan**, *conceal*,

for *āgnian*, *āglāca*; *dīglan*; still more rarely after a short vowel, as in *fahnian*, *rejoice*; plur. *fuhlas*, *birds*, instead of *fagnian*, *fuglas*.

NOTE 3. Only a few texts (like the Boeth., which is strongly influenced by Kentish) employ *h* for *g* between vowels: dat. plur. *dahum*, *days*; 3 plur. *mahan*, *be able*; *heretoha*, *leader*; for *dagum*, *magon*, *-toga*.

NOTE 4. *h + g* is often assimilated to *hh* in LWS. and North. (L.) *nēhhebūr* (also *nēhche-*, *nēchebūr*), and its derivatives, for *nēahgebūr*, etc., *neighbor*.

NOTE 5. As an intermediate spelling *gh* is also occasionally found: *bōgh*, *shoulder*; *hnāgh*, *bowed*; *slōgh*, *slew*; *dēaghian*, *dye*; *tōtoghen*, *rent*; also *hg*: *stāhg*, *ascended*; *ðwōhg*, *washed*; *wīhgn*, *warrior*; *onwrihgen*, *revealed*; dat. *brēhge*, *eyelid*; dat. *dīhglum*, *secret*; after *l*: plur. *onwealhge*, *whole*; frequently after *r*: *burhg*, *city*, gen. plur. *burhga*; *sorhgian*, *sorrow*. Not to be confounded with this *gh* is the stable *gh* in *āghwīlc*, *āghwæðer*, etc., for **ā-gi-hwīlc*, etc. (347, note 3).

NOTE 6. On final *g* for *h* see 223, note 1.

This interchange of *g* and *h* is to be distinguished from the grammatical change of these two sounds (233; 234).

2) When following a palatal vowel at the end of a syllable, *g* sometimes passes into *i*. This phenomenon is peculiar to Kentish, and a chief criterion of this dialect. So already Ep. *grēi*, *bodei*; *mēihanda* Cod. Dipl., A.D. 831; *ēihwelc*, *Deimund*, A.D. 832; *dei*, A.D. 837; *meiðhād* Kent. Gl., etc., for *bodeg*, *mēg-*, *ēg-*, *deg-*, *megðhād*. Similarly, LWS. often has *-ig* for *-g*: *weig*, *dæg*, *mæg*, etc., for *weg*, *dæg*, *mæg*, etc.

3) *g*, when followed by one of the voiced consonants *d*, (*ð*), *n*, often disappears in WS. after a palatal vowel, the preceding vowel being simultaneously lengthened: *māden*, *maiden*; *sāde*, *gesæd* (416, note 3); *lēde*, *gelēd* (407, note 7); *brēdan*, *brandish*; *strēdan*, *dissipate* (389); *-hȳdig*, *-minded*, for *sægde*, *lēgde*, *bregdan*, *stregdan*,

-hygdig, etc.; **tīðlan**, *grant*, for **tigðlan**; **ðēnian**, *serve*; **ðinen**, *handmaid*; **frīnan**, *inquire*; **rīnan**, *rain*, for **ðegnian**, **ðignen**, **frignan**, **rignan**. Syncope of **g** likewise takes place before originally syllabic **n**: **wāen**, *wain*; **rēn**, *rain*; **ðēn**, *thane*, for **wāegn**, **regn**, **ðegn** (though these forms are perhaps due to the analogy of the polysyllabic ones, like gen. **wāenes**, **rēnes**, **ðēnes**). Not till a later period do we now and then encounter syncope before **l**, as in **snāel**, for **snægsl**, *snail*.

NOTE 7. The loss of **g** occurs almost without exception in WS. **ongēan**, *again*; **tōgēanes**, *against* (only once **ongeagn** Cura Past. H); Ps. has only **ongegn**, R.¹ generally **ongægn**, once **ongēan**, North. usually **ongægn**, **tōgægnes**, rarely in L. **ongēan**; the poetry varies between **ongēan** and **ongegn**, **tōgēanes** and **tōgegnes**.

NOTE 8. **g** is lost after a guttural vowel in **frūnon**, **gefrūnen**, from **frīnan**, and **brūdon**, **brōden**, **strōden**, from **brēdan**, **strēdan** (389), but perhaps only through the influence of the present forms with palatal vowels. **Frān** is certainly only a new formation according to the pres. **frīnan**.

NOTE 9. In an unstressed syllable, **g** disappears before **n** and **l** in **holen**, beside **holegn**, *holly*, and **finul**, **finule**, beside a rare early **finugl**, **finuglæ**, *fennel*.

NOTE 10. Loss of **g** between consonants takes place in **mornes**, **morne** (**męrne**), gen. dat. sing. of **morgen**, *morn*.

4) **ige**, from **igi**, is often contracted to **i**: **il**, *porcupine*; **Silhearwan**, *Ethiopians*; **list**, **lið**, **liest**, **lies**; **gelire**, *adultery*, for **igel**, **Sigel-**, **ligest**, **ligeð**, **gelligere**; so also **siðe**, *scythe*, from * **sigiðe**.

5) The ending **-ig** often loses its **g**, most frequently when medial, as in **syndrie**, **heðie**, **hungrie**, for **syndrige**, **heðige**, **hungrige**; **męnio**, for **męnigo**, *multitude*; but also at the end of a word or syllable: **āni**, **mænifold**, **dysl**, acc. **ānine**, etc. (frequent in later texts, and perhaps

more exactly to be written with lengthened *i*: *æni*, *ænine*, etc.). Even the *ig* of a stressed syllable occasionally undergoes a similar loss: *drīe*, *dry*, dat. *drīum*, etc.; *áflian*, *put to flight*; *blēria*, *blear-eyed person*, for *drige*, *drýge* (31, note), *áfliġ(e)an*, *blēr-ig(e)a*.

NOTE 11. The *ig* from *g* (213, note) is often treated in like manner: *fylian*, *wyrian*, *mērien*; also before consonants: pres. 3 sing. *fylið*, pret. *fyliðe*, etc.

6) In like manner, *-ig* is frequently contracted to *-i* in the first member of a compound word: *stirāp*, *stirrup*; *stīwita*, *stīward*, *steward*; *switīma*, *time of silence*, from *stigrāp*, *-wita*, *-weard*, *swigtīma*.

7) Initial *g* before *ea*, *eo* is sometimes omitted in later texts: *ealla*, *gall*, etc. (212, note 2); so almost regularly LWS. *middaneard*, *world*; *wineard*, *vineyard*, for *middan-*, *wingeard*.

8) After *u* LWS. *g* interchanges occasionally with *w*, especially in *suwian*, *be silent*; *ádrūwian*, *withér*, for *s(w)ugian*, *ádrūgian*; also after *o* in *geswōwung*, *swoon*, beside *geswōgen*, *swooning*.

215. The combination *ng* retains its *g* unaltered, except that it is often (and even very early) replaced, when final, by *-nc*, *-ncg*, *-ngc*: *Uuihtherinc* Cod. Dipl., A.D. 811; *Cymesinc*, A.D. 822; *Thēodningc*, A.D. 779; *Cāsincg*, *Cillincg*, A.D. 814; *Sęleberhtincg-lond*, A.D. 814. This *c*, etc., even forces itself into the medial position: *swuluncga*, *gesomnuncgæ* Cod. Dipl., A.D. 805–831. Even *cgg* occurs: *Geddincggum*, A.D. 825 (North. instances in *Bouterwek*, North. Ev. CXXXVIII).

Likewise medial **ng** frequently becomes **nc** before a surd: **brincð**, *brings*; **sprincð**, *springs*; **strencð**, *strength*; **lēnceten**, *spring*; **ancsum**, *difficult*, for **bringð**, **strengð**, **lēngten** (and Ps. **lēnten**), **qngsum**.

NOTE 1. That the pronunciation was **nc** in such cases, even when **ng** was written, appears from the occasional substitution of **ng** for original **nc**: **dringð**, *drinks*; **ðingð**, *seems*; **ðengð**, *thinks*; **stingð**, *stinks*, for **drincð**, etc.

Simple **n** is also occasionally written both for **ng** and **nc** in this position, especially in Kent. texts: **streñð**, **ðenð**, for **strengð**, **ðencð**, etc. (184, note).

Hence we must conclude that the **g** of **ng** denoted a sonant stop, which, according to 206, was either guttural or palatal; the latter subsequently passed over into the palatal fricative (**ǰ** = Eng. **j**); cf. 206. 4.

NOTE 2. Many later texts, which in other cases regularly reproduce older medial **ng** by **ng**, often represent older **ngi** and **ngj** by **ncg**: **andfencge**, *agreeable*; **punwencge**, *temples*; **getincge**, *eloquent*; **spincge**, *sponge*; **landbigencga**, *inhabitant*; **glencgan**, *adorn*; **mencgan**, *mingle*, etc. Here the **cg** (cf. 216) probably denotes palatal pronunciation, and perhaps even the sound of the fricative (**ǰ** = Eng. **j**).

216. Geminated **g** is of twofold origin, and therefore has twofold phonetic value:

1) Usually it arose from Germ. **gj** by West Germ. gemination (227), and is therefore certainly a palatal in OE. It is represented by **cg**, which is not simplified at the end of a word (231); before **a** (**o**) often written **cge**, before **u** also **cgi** (206. 3. *b*): **sēcgc**, *man*; **hrycgc**, *back*; gen. sing. **sēcges**, **hrycges**; nom. plur. **sēcgc(e)as**, gen. **sēcgc(e)a**, dat. **sēcgcum** (**sēcgcium**); besides verbs like **sēcgc(e)an**, *say*; **licgc(e)an**, *lie*, etc.

NOTE 1. Medial **gg** (also **gc**, **gcg**) rarely occurs, and then usually in earlier texts: dat. sing. **hrygge**; **hyggean**, *think*; **seggan**, **segcan**, **segcan**, etc.; more common is **egg**, especially in the earlier WS. manuscripts.

NOTE 2. In the rather late **micgern**, *fat*, for ***midgern** (OHG. **mittigarni**), the **cg** sprang from **dg** (cf. 196. 3).

2) Only in a few words is double **g** not from **gj**, and in these it is usually written **gg**, not **cg**: **dogga**, *dog*; **frogga**, *frog*; **hogcian**, *impend*; **flogcian**, *shine forth*; **floggettan**, *fluctuate*; **clugge**, *bell*; **sugga**, *ficedula*, *warbler*; also **sceacga**, *hair of the head*; **ēarwicga**, *earwig*. Probably this spelling was intended to indicate the guttural pronunciation of this **gg**, contrasted with the palatal **cg**.

3) The pronunciation of both these groups was, according to the spelling and the later phonetic development, at least originally that of a double sonant stop; but the palatal geminate **cg** subsequently became the palatal fricative (**dʒ** = Eng. **j**); cf. note 2, and 206. 4.

h (x)

217. Initial **h** is simply a breath. It occurs without limitation before vowels, and likewise in the combinations **hl**, **hr**, **hn**, **hw**, which are perhaps only to be regarded as the surd **l**, **r**, **n**, **w** (like Eng. **wh**): **hlāf**, *loaf*; **hliehhan**, *laugh*; **hræfn**, *raven*; **hring**, *ring*; **hnigan**, *bow*; **hnutu**, *nut*; **hwæt**, *what*; **hwit**, *white*.

Initial **h** disappears in **nabban**, from **ne habban** (416, note 1; so in North. L. **boōflic**, beside **behōflic**, *necessary*), and in the second member of certain early compounds: **ānliepe**, *single* (ON. **einhleypr**); **wælreow**,

beside *wælhreow*, *savage*; add forms like *iſig*, *ivy*; *lieuma*, *body*; *ꝥndettan*, *confess*, from **if-hæg*, *liehoma*, **ꝥnd-hātjan*, etc. (cf. 43, note 4, and the pronouns, 343; 348. 2); so in compound proper nouns, like *Waldere*, and often in the later *Ælfere*, *Ælfelm*, *Ealdelm*, for *Ælfhere*, *Ælfhelm*, *Ealdhelm*, etc.

NOTE 1. In the older MSS. initial *h* is sometimes lost: *æfde*, *wæt*, *ring*, for *hæfde*, *hwæt*, *hring*; and, conversely, there is now and then prothesis of *h*: *hierre*, *hæmeteg*, *hlāreow*, for *ierre*, *æmeteg*, *lāreow* (WS. instances in Cosijn, *Taalk. Bijdr.* 2. 130; Kent. in Zupitza, *ZfdA.* 21. 12; North. in Bouterwek, *North. Ev. cxi*, *cxli*). The pronunciation actually varies, however, only in the case of the verb *hweorfan* and its derivatives, and more frequently in that of *hræð*, *quick*, adv. *hraðe*, which alliterate not only with *h*, but also with *w* or *r* (cf. Rieger, *Verskunst* 9).

NOTE 2. In certain later texts *h* before a consonant begins to disappear: *lāford*, *ring*, *rēat*, for *hlāford*, *hring*, *hrēat*. Sporadic are such spellings as *whæt*, *gewhæde*, *rhigge*, for *hwæt*, *gehwæde*, *hryge*.

NOTE 3. In an alphabet of the eleventh century the name of *h* is given as *ache* (Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 247).

218. Simple medial *h*, as well as original *hw*, disappears when followed by a vowel.

1) If a consonant precedes the *h*, the preceding vowel is lengthened upon the disappearance of the *h*; yet in the case of inflected words there are also occurrences of the short vowel, probably through analogy with forms in which the vowel did not undergo lengthening: *feorh*, *life*; *mearh*, *horse*; *Wealh*, *Welshman*, etc. (242); gen. *fēores* and *feores*, nom. acc. plur. *mēaras*, *Wēalas*, and *mearas*, *Wealas*; or 3 sing. *-filhð*, inf. *fēolan*, *conceal* (387, note 4), or *ðyrel* and *ðyrel*, *aperture* (probably from *ðyrel* — *ðyrles*, for orig. **pyrhil* — **pyrhles*).

NOTE 1. The plur. *fīras*, *men* (from *feorh*) has stable length, and so does *swīra*, *swīora* (later *swēora*), *neck* (beside WS. *swura*, with doubtful quantity), if this goes back to orig. **swirh-* (but compare ON. *svīrl*, contrasted with *fīrar*, *men*, etc.). Add certain original compounds treated in the same manner: *ōret*, *battle*, beside derivatives; *ōnettan*, *incite* (43, note 4; also sporadic forms like *orrettan*, *orretscipe*); *īfig*, *ivy* (from **if-hæg*, 217). In *eofot*, *contest* (from **ef-hāt*); *eofolsian*, *blaspheme* (from **ef-hālsian*; cf. 43, note 4), the *eo* perhaps points to shortness (hence North. L. *ēbalsia*, etc.?).

NOTE 2. Certain inflectional forms point to the retention of the short vowel: such are *moru*, *parsnip* (278, note 1); *ðweoru*, nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut. of *ðweorh*, *transverse* (295, note 1); and the verb *ðwyrian*, for **þwiorhjan* (400, note).

2) If two vowels thus collide through the loss of *h*, contraction usually takes place (110 ff.; 166): *feoh*, gen. *fēos* (242); *hēah*, plur. *hēa* (295, note 1), etc.; compare also the contract verbs (373), like *sēon*, *see*, Goth. *saihwān*, and many similar instances.

NOTE 3. In the oldest texts, like Ep., the *h* is still frequently retained in both cases: *thōhæ*, *wlōhum*, *rȳhæ*, *furhum* = WS. *thō*, *wlō(u)m*, *rēo*, *fūrum*. Certain later forms, like *horhihte*, *filthy*, for older *horwehte*, are new formations (after nom. *horh*, 242, note 4). For North. *genēhwia*, *approach*, see 222, note 4.

219. On the other hand, medial *h*, when geminated or followed by a surd consonant, is usually retained, and in these cases is probably to be pronounced as a guttural or a palatal spirant, like the Germ. *ch* in *ach* and *ich*.

220. Geminated *hh* is not very common: *geneahhe*, *sufficiently*; *siohhe*, *strainer*; *tioh*, gen. *tiohhe*, *order*; *tiohhian*, *arrange*; (*h*)*reohhe*, *fannus*; *geohhol*, *Yule month* (beside *gēola*); *c(e)ahhettan*, *croak*; *cohhettan*, *cough*; *wuhhung*, *rage*; *pohha*, *pocket*; *crohha*, *crock*;

Ep. *scocha*, *lenocinium*; *hliehhan* (392. 4); North. *æhher* (289), *tæhher*, *tear* (cf. 222, note 4).

NOTE 1. The MSS. not infrequently have simple *h* instead of *hh*: *geneahe*, *geohol*, *her*, *hreohe*, *wuhung*, *hlīhan*; even at times *ch*: *hreoche*, *hlīchan* (Ælf. Gr.) and, especially earlier, *hch*: *Ehcha* Cod. Dipl., A.D. 700-715; *tlo(h)chlan*, *pohcha* Cura Past.

NOTE 2. Beside *pohha* and *crohha* are also found (especially Angl.?) *pocca* and *crocca*; with *scocha* compare *scucca*, *tempter*.

221. The older combinations, *ht* (232) and *hs*, usually remain:

1) *ht* is common: *eahta*, *eight*; *ryht*, *right*; *ṭōhte*, *thought*, and similar preterits (407); *beorht*, *bright*, etc.

NOTE 1. The oldest texts, perhaps on account of Latin influence, frequently have *ct* for *ht*: *ambect*, *gīfect*, *uuyrcta* Ep.; *mæctī*, *dryctīn* Cæd.; also *cht*: *ambechtæ*, *sōchtæ* Ep.; *htt*: *Cynlberhtæ* Cod. Dipl. A.D. 736; *Ēanberhtæ*, A.D. 755-757; and *chtt*: *almechttig* Ruthwell Cross. Simple *ht* is, however, to be found in charters of the beginning of the eighth century. Very late texts sporadically introduce *cht* again: *tæchte*, *taught*; *ælmichtig*, *almighty*, etc.; and here and there *gt* occurs, as in *forhtian*, *fear*.

For the interchange of *ht* and *ct* in preterits like *ṭrycte* and *ṭryhte* see 407. 2.

NOTE 2. Occasionally *h* is lost, particularly after *r*: *fortian*, *wyrta*, for *forhtian*, *wyrhta*.

2) In place of older *hs* the manuscripts have *x*: *feax*, *hair*; *weaxan*, *grow*; *slex*, *six*; *miox*, *manure*; *wrixlan*, *change*; *oxa*, *ox*; *ōxn*, *armpit*, for Goth. *fahs*, *wahsjan*, *mailstus*, etc.

Ecthlipsis of *h* has taken place in *nēos(i)an*, *visit* (Goth. *niuhspan*, OS. *niusōn*); *ṭisl*, *ṭisle*, *wagon-pole* (beside older *ṭixl* Erf. Corp.; OHG. *dīhsila*); *wæsma*, *wæstm*, *growth* (from *weaxan*); North. *sesta*, *seista*, *the sixth*.

NOTE 3. Likewise for **x** = **hs** there occur the orthographical variants for **x** = **cs** (209, note), like **hx**, **xs**, **hs**: **weahxan**, pres. 3 sing. **wihxō**, pret. **wēohx**; **meohx**, **oxsa**, **weahsan**, etc.

NOTE 4. Even the **hs** which arose through vowel-syncope (222. 1) is often designated by **x**: **syxt** (**syxst**, etc.), *seest*, for **siehat** (374); especially in the rather frequent LWS. **nēxta**, *the next* (313, note).

222. 1) Moreover, **h** (= older **h** and **hw**) maintains its ground in WS. and Kent. whenever, in consequence of vowel-syncope, it is immediately followed by a surd. The chief instances are superlatives like **hiehsta**, **niehsta** (310; 313); abstract nouns ending in **-ōu**, like **hiehōu**, *hight*; **fāhōu**, *feud* (255. 3); and the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. of strong contract verbs, like **fēhst**, **fēhō** from **fōn** (Goth. **fāhan**); **siehist**, **siehō** from **sēon**, Goth. **saihwan**, 374 (in contrast to weak verbs, like 2 and 3 sing. **ōȳst**, **ōȳō**, from **ōȳn**, *oppress*, 408. 4). On the Angl. forms see 166. 6.

Not till late was **h** occasionally lost after **r**: **ferō**, *life*, instead of **ferhō** (also forms with **ōō**, like gen. **ferōōes**, etc.).

2) On the contrary, **h** disappears between a vowel and a sonant consonant, especially **l**, **r**, **m**, **n**: **ōwēal**, *bath* (Goth. **þwahl**); **stiele**, **style**, *steel* (OHG. **stahal**); **hēla**, *heel* (from **hōh**, *heel*); **flēam**, *flight* (from **flēon**, 384, Goth. **pliuhan**); **lēoma**, *brightness* (connected with Goth. **liuhap**); **ȳmest**, *highest* (Goth. **auhmiss**); **lāene**, *transitory* (OS. **lēhni**); **gesiene** (Kent. Angl. **gesēne**), *visible* (for ***sāhnia**, from Goth. **saihwan**); **betwēonum**, *between* (compare Goth. **tweihnai**). Compare also the declension of adjectives in **h**, like **wōh** (295, note 1): acc. sing. masc. **wōne**, gen. dat. sing. fem. **wōre**, gen.

plur. **wōra**, for **wōhne**, etc.; the comparative **hiera**, from **hēah** (307), etc.

NOTE 1. The same phenomenon is also observable in compounds, as in **hēallic**, *high*; **gemālic**, *greedy*; **nēallic**, *near*; **nēalācean**, *approach*; **plēolic**, *dangerous*; **tōlic**, *tough*; **wōlic**, *evil*, from **hēah**, **gemāh**, **nēah**, **pleoh**, **tōh**, **wōh**; then **ēorisc**, *bulrush*; **ēorod**, *troop*; **Ēomær**, from **eoh**, *horse*; **hēanis**, *hight*, from **hēah**; **nēawest**, *vicinity*, from **nēah**; **āwer**, **ōwer** (321, note 2), **āwðer**, **ōwðer** (346), from **hwær**, **hwæðer**; **Plēowald**, from **pleoh**; **Hēaberht**, **hēadēor**, **hēador**, *stag*, from **hēah**; similarly, **rādor**, *roe*, from **rāhdēor**; WS. **wiobud**, **wēobud** (even **wēofud**), for ***wiōhbed** (Ps. R.¹ R.² **wibed**, beside R.¹ **wīfod**, **wēofud**, for ***wīhbed**, according to 165. 2; also Kent. Ps. L. Rit. Bede **wīgbed**). The same ecthipsis occurs before **f** in **hēafre**, **-u**, from **hēahfore**, **-u**, North. **hēhfora**, *heifer*.

NOTE 2. When the final **h** of **hēah** is lost, there is frequent gemination of the following **n**, **r**: acc. **hēanne**, sb. **hēannis**, gen. plur. **hēarra**, comp. **hīerra** (307).

NOTE 3. When the etymology is apparent, the **h** is often restored by analogy: **hēahne**, **hīehra**, **hēahnīs**, etc.

NOTE 4. The oldest texts have retained this **h** in several instances: **thuachl** Ep.; **ðhuehl** Corp.; **bituīchn** Erf.; so also late North. before **l** in gen. **ðuahles**, **fiþles**, **panni** L., before **w** in L. **genēhwiga**, *approach*, and before **r** in **æh(h)er**, *ear of grain*; **tæh(h)er**, *tear* (220). The frequent gemination of **h** in the last two words leads to a suspicion that there was a gemination of originally simple **h** before **l**, **w**, **r** (228).

223. Finally, **h** is always preserved at the end of a word: **feoh**, *cattle, money*; **hēah**, *high*; **wōh**, *wicked*; **rūh**, *rough*; **tēoh**, *draw*; after consonants: **sulh**, *plow*; **Wealh**, *Welshman*; **feorh**, *life*; **furh**, *furrow*. Likewise **h** for older **hw**, as in **seah**, *saw*, Goth. **sahw**, etc. Only in later texts occur also forms like **sul**, **Weal** (or **sūl**, **Wēal**; cf. Beitr. 11. 559), formed upon the model of the polysyllabic cases (218).

NOTE 1. In the oldest texts the spelling is often **ch**: for example, **t(h)rūch**, **tōch**, **elch**, **salch**, **thorch** Ep.; subsequently now and then

g (cf. 214. 1), as in *feorg*, *horg*, *mearg*, *purg*, for *feorh*, *horh*, *meorh*, *þurh*, etc.

NOTE 2. Now and then an inorganic **h** appears at the end of a word, as in LWS. *frēoh*, *free*; *ēoh*, *yew*; *blēoh*, *color*, for *frēo*, *ēo*, *blēo*. This **h** is due to the example of such pairs as *feoh* – *fēos*, *hēah* – *hēas* (218. 2).

THE OLD ENGLISH CONSONANTS IN GENERAL

1. CHANGES WHEN FINAL

224. Sonant stops and spirants seem to become surd when final; nevertheless, the spelling which predominates is the etymological, which assigns the same consonant to the end of a word as to the middle. Only of sporadic occurrence, and then for the most part in very ancient sources, are forms like *lamp* for *lamb* Kent. Gl.; *felt* Cod. Dipl., A.D. 662–693, *Wulfhāt*, *Peohtthāt*, A.D. 794, for *feld*, *-hād*; North. instances in Bouterwek, North. Ev. CXLV (an isolated later example of **t** for **d** is *sint* for *sind*; for the 3 pers. in *-t* instead of *-ð* see 357; 360); *-ne* for *-ng* is more common (instances in 215); **h** for spirant **g** is very common (214. 1). Any difference in the pronunciation of **f**, (**s**), **θ** eludes observation, since the same character represents both surd and sonant.

NOTE. For the treatment of gemination when final see 231.

2. GEMINATION

225. Every OE. consonant, except **j** and **w**, is subject to gemination (on *cg* for *gg* see 216). In respect to

their origin, these geminates belong in part to Germ., in part to West Germ., and in part to OE.

226. Germanic gemination of *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, and *s* is frequent. Examples are:

ll: *eall*, *all*; *feallan*, *fall*; *full*, *full*.

rr: *steorra*, *star*; *feorran*, *far*.

nn: *onginnan*, *begin*; *mōn*, *mōnnes*, *man*.

mm: *swimman*, *swim*; *hwōm*, *hwōmmes*, *corner*.

ss: *gewiss*, *certain*; *wisse*, *knew*; *cyssan*, *kiss* (232).

Less frequent are the following:

kk: *bucca*, *buck*; *loc*, *locces*, *lock*; *stoc*, *stocces*, *stock*.

tt: *sceat*, *sceattes*, *coin*.

pp: *crop*, *croppes*, *crop*; *top*, *toppes*, *top*; *hnæp*, *hnæppes*, *bowl*.

It is doubtful whether *pp* occurs as early as Germanic in *oððe*, or (Goth. *aiþþau*, but OS. *efþo*, Fris. *ieftha*) and *moððe*, *moth* (North. *mohðe*, -a). Rare and somewhat doubtful are Germ. *ff*, *hh*, *bb*, *dd*, *gg*.

227. *West Germanic gemination before j.* All simple consonants in West Germ., with the exception of *r*, undergo gemination after a short vowel when they are followed by *j*. Thus Goth. *saljan*, *skapjan*, *satjan*, *rakjan*, are represented by OS. *sellian*, *skeppian*, *set-tian*, *rekkian*, and, after the loss of the *j* (177), by OE. *sellan*, *scieppan*, *settan*, *recc(e)an*. Original *hj* appears as *hh* in *hliehhan*, *laugh*; and original *pj* as *ðð* in *ryðða*, *mastiff*; *smiððe*, *smithy*; *sceððan*, *injure* (Goth. *skapjan*), etc. (*pæððan*, *traverse*; *stæððan*, *fix*, have

possibly Germ. *pp*). The place of *fj* is taken by OE. *bb*: *hebban*, *heave* (Goth. *hafjan*); and that of *gj* by *cg*: *lēcg(e)an* (Goth. *lagjan*). On the other hand, *r* is not geminated: *here*, *herges*, *army*; *wērian*, *defend*; *nerian*, *save*; *herian*, *glorify* (= Goth. *harjis*, *warjan*, *nasjan*, *hazjan*, etc.).

NOTE 1. The chapters on inflection contain numerous examples of this gemination, as, for example, in the *jo*- and *jā*-stems (247; 258; adj., 297), the weak verbs of the First and Third Classes (400 ff.; 415), etc.

NOTE 2. For the interchange of forms with and without gemination in the conjugation of verbs with the derivative suffix *-jo* see 410.

228. There is a similar gemination of *t*, *c*, *p*, *h*, before *r* and *l* in certain OE. words, though it does not occur uniformly: *bittor*, *bitter*; *snottor*, *wise*; *wæccer*, *watchful*; North. *æhher*, *ear of grain*; *tæhher*, *tear* (cf. 222, note 4); *æppel*, *apple*; along with *bitor*, *snotor*, *wacor*, *ear*, *tēar* (from **ahur*, **tahur*, 111. 2), *apuldre*, *apple-tree* (compare Goth. *baitrs*, *snutrs*, *ahs*, *tahrjan*). So likewise, though probably not in the older texts, when the *r*, *l* has been conjoined with the preceding consonant as the result of syncope: thus, *bettra*, beside *betra*, *better* (Goth. *batiza*); *miccles*, beside *micles*, from *micel* (Goth. *mikils*).

NOTE. This irregularity presumably depends upon the fact that, before gemination had taken place, the *r* and *l* were sometimes syllabic, and subsequently passed into *-ur*, *-ul*, etc. (138 ff.). The older declensional forms must then, for example, have been nom. *bitur* (from **bitr*), gen. *bittres*; *tēar* (from **tahur*), gen. *tæhhres*, etc.; and these gave rise to the double series *bittur* – *bittres*, and *bitur* – *biteres*, etc.

229. After a long vowel no such gemination before *r* takes place in the older texts. Gemination of *tt* and

dd occurs at a later period, accompanied, as is probable, with shortening of the vowel : *ædre*, *vein* ; *blædre*, *bladder* ; *nædre*, *viper* ; *mōdrie*, *aunt*, become *æddre*, *blæddre*, *næddre*, *moddrie*. In like manner, there is an interchange of *ātor*, *venom* ; *hlūtor*, *clear* ; *tūdor*, *progeny* ; *fōdor*, *fodder* ; *mōdor*, *mother*, with *attor*, *hluttor*, *tuddor*, *foddor*, *moddor*, in which the **tt**, **dd** owe their origin to the cases which had no middle vowel (144), like *ātres*, etc. Still more recent is the gemination of other consonants, in forms like *riccra*, *deoppa*, etc., from *rice*, *rich* ; *dēop*, *deep*.

230. Other OE. geminates arise from the conjunction of two consonants which were originally separated. Here belong (disregarding the conjunction of similar final and initial consonants in compound words) the **tt** from **tp**, **dp** (201. 4), and the **tt** and **dd** of weak preterits (404 ; 405).

NOTE 1. In certain words geminates occur side by side with simple consonants without any assignable reason, especially in the very early *reccēan*, *care*, and in *liccettan*, beside *licettan*, *fawn*. Only the later language has such gemination as in *wissian*, *direct* ; *scynnes*, *temptation* ; *prinnes*, *trinity* ; *preottȳne*, *thirteen* ; *prittig*, *thirty* ; *tydde*, *taught*, for older *wīslan*, *sciēnes*, *ȳrīnes*, *ȳrīotiene*, *ȳrītīg*, *tȳde*, etc.

NOTE 2. In North., inorganic geminates (probably only graphic) are very common : *eatta*, *eat* ; *cymma*, *come*, for *eata*, *cyma*, etc.

231. Gemination is simplified in the following cases :

1) Usually at the end of a word : compare forms like *eal*, *feor*, *mōn*, *swim*, *sib*, *sceat*, *bēd*, *sæc*, *teoh* with *ealles*, *feorran*, *mōnnes*, *swimman*, *sibbe*, *sceattes*, *bēddes*, *sæcce*, *teohhe*. Still, the rule is often disregarded, as, for example, in *eall*, *mōnn*, *upp*, *sibb*, *bēdd*,

bliss, etc. The various texts exhibit great discrepancies in this respect.

cg is retained, even when final: **secg**, like **secgas** (216).

2) Usually at the end of a syllable within a word: **ealre**, **ealne**, **midne**, **nytne**, from **eal**(1), **ealles**; **mid**(d), **middes**; **nyt**(t), **nyttes**; **cyste**, pret. of **cyssan**. Yet we frequently find **eallre**, **eallne**, etc.

3) Very frequently after a consonant in compounds: **eorlic**, *manly*; **emniht**, *solstice*; **feltūn** (for ***felttūn**, from ***feldtūn**), *privy*; **geornes**, *desire*; **wildēor**, *wild animal*; **wyrtruma**, *root*; **wyrtūn**, *garden*; **gærstapa**, *grasshopper*, for **eorl-lic**, **emn-niht**, **georn-nes**, **wild-ēor**, **wyrt-truma**, **wyrt-tūn**, **gærs-stapa**, etc.

NOTE 1. Exclusive of compounds, this case only occurs when **r** undergoes metathesis: **burna**, *brook*; **biernan**, *burn*; **iernan**, *run*; **hors**, *horse*, gen. *horses*, etc. Here simplification is the rule, only the earlier texts having certain wholly sporadic forms like **burnna**, **irnn**, **horssum**, **cærssan** (from **cærse**, *cross*).

NOTE 2. Simplification is even occasionally found after a long vowel or diphthong: **rūmodlic**, **rūmedlic**, *magnanimous*, for **rūmōdlic**; LWS. **gelēaful**, *faithful*, for **gelēafful**.

4) In the later language very commonly after an unstressed syllable; for example, in compounds like **atelic**, *dreadful*; **swutolic**, *plain*; **digelic**, *secret*; **singǣlic**, *perpetual*, for **atollic**, **swutollic**, **digollic**, **singǣllic**. As respects inflection, this rule applies especially to derivatives in **nn**, **ll**, **tt**, **rr**: neuters like **wēsten** and **bærnet** (248.2, and note 2); feminines like **cōndel** and **byrðen** (258.1, and note 3); verbs like **bliccettan** (403, note 2); gen. **wēstennes**, **bærnettes**, **cōndelle**, **byrðenne**, and later **wēstenes**, **bærnetes**, **byrðene**, inf. **bliccetan**, etc.; comparatives in **-erra**,

-era, like *æfterra*, *æftera* (314, note 1); the acc. sing. masc. of polysyllabic adjectives in **-en** and strong past participles, like *gylden*, *geslægen*, later *gydene*, *geslægene*; and the **r**-cases of polysyllabic adjectives and pronouns in **-r** and **-re**, like gen. plur. *fægerra*, *ōðerra*, *ēowerra*, *sýferra*, later *fægera*, *ōðera*, *ēowera* (296, note 3), etc.

NOTE 3. The geminated consonants were often written, long after the second had ceased to be pronounced. Accordingly, geminates now and then occur by mistake for an originally simple consonant, as in *forenne*, *before*; *ufenne*, *from above*; *āgenne*, gen., *of (his) own*; this is especially common in the acc. sing. masc. of *cucu*, *living*: *cuconne*, etc. (303, note 1); for *forene*, *ufene*, *āgene*, *cucone*. etc.

3. THE GROUPS **ft**, **ht**, **st**, **ss**

232. The following rule was already in force in Prim. Germ.: Every labial + **t** is changed to **ft**, and every guttural + **t** to **ht**; but a dental + **t** becomes either **st** or **ss**. OE. examples are:

a) Of **ft**: *scieppan*, *create*, *gesceaft*, *creature*; *giefan*, *give* (i.e., *gieþan*, 192. 2), *gift*, *gift*; *ðurfan*, *be allowed*, *ðearft*, *ðorfte* (422. 6).

b) Of **ht**: *hycgan*, *hope*, *hyht*, *hope*; *āgan*, *own*; *magan*, *be able*, 2 sing. *āht*, *meaht* (420. 2; 424. 10); the noun *meaht*, *might*; but especially the weak preterits (407).

c) Of **st**: *wāt*, *knows*, 2 sing. *wāst*; *liþan*, *go*, *lāst*, *pathway*; *hladan*, *lade*, *hlæst*, *load*.

d) Of **ss**: *witan*, *know*, pret. *wisse*, adj. (part.) *gewis(s)*, *certain*; *cweþan*, *say*, *ꝥndcwis(s)*, *answer*; *sittan*, *sit*, *sess*, *seat*.

The preceding rule does not apply when the **t** or other dental has been conjoined with the preceding labial, guttural, or dental as the result of OE. syncope : compare, for example, the weak preterits and past participles (**405. 4**; **406**, and note), or the abstracts in **-ðu** (**255. 3**), etc.

4. GRAMMATICAL CHANGE

233. By 'grammatical change' is to be understood an interchange of the medial surd spirants **s, f, þ, h, hw** with the corresponding sonant spirants, designated by **z, ð, θ, g, w** (but sometimes **g**), the interchange in question being a feature of Primitive Germanic, and taking place according to definite laws. The combinations **ss, st, sp, sk, ft, ht**, were not subject to this change.

NOTE. The explanation of this interchange was discovered by K. Verner (Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* 23. 97 ff.). According to the law which he formulated, the sonant spirant always replaced the surd when the vowel next preceding did not, according to the original Indo-European accentuation, receive the principal stress.

234. In OE. the original correspondences are a trifle obscured by the fact that some of the sounds have undergone modifications. Thus **hw** passed into simple **h** (cf. **222**; **223**), and, like the latter, has frequently disappeared (**218**). Of the sonants, **z** passed into **r**; the older **θ** (not to be confounded with the OE. **θ = þ**, **199**) became **d**; and the sound of **ð** is not, as a rule, graphically distinguished from that of **f** (**192**). There consequently remain in OE. only the four pairs **s - r, þ - d, h - g** (**h - ng**, according to **186**, note 4), and **h - w**. Examples are :

a) **s—r**: *glæs, glass, glæren, vitreous; cēosan, choose, cēas, curon, coren (384), cyre, choice; durran (422.7), dare, dearst, dorste, adj. gedyrstig, bold.*

b) **p—d**: *cweðan, say, cwæð, cwædon, cweden (391), cwide, discourse; liðan, journey, -lida, -farer.*

c) **h—g**: *slēan, strike, sliehist, sliehð, slōg, slōgon, slægen (392.2), slēge, stroke; -slaga, -slayer; ðēon, thrive, ðāh, ðungen (383, note 3).*

d) **h—w**: *sēon, see (Goth. saihwan), siehist, siehð, seah, sāwon, gesewen (391.2).*

NOTE. The regularity of this interchange has been somewhat obscured in OE. as the result of analogy. Special instances will be noticed under the head of Inflection.

INFLECTION

PART I. — DECLENSION

CHAPTER I. DECLENSION OF NOUNS

A. VOWEL OR STRONG DECLENSION

1. THE *o*-DECLENSION

235. The OE. *o*-declension comprises masculines and neuters. It corresponds to the second or *o*-declension of Greek and Latin (Gr. masc. *-os*, neut. *-ov*; Lat. *-us, -um*). The corresponding feminines form the *ā*-declension.

NOTE. The Germ. *o*-declension is usually designated as the *a*-declension, since older *o* generally became Germ. *a* before it disappeared (45. 4). Yet it is perhaps better, in bestowing such names, to be actuated by the form of the final stem-vowel in Indo-European.

The *o*-stems may be subdivided as follows: (*a*) simple *o*-stems, (*b*) *jo*-stems, and (*c*) *wo*-stems, the two latter groups differing, as respects certain cases, from the pure *o*-stems.

236. The terminations of the masculines and the neuters are the same in all cases except the nom. and acc. plur., and may therefore be included in the same scheme.

NOTE. In North. the gender often varies between masc. and neut.; cf. also 251, note. In the other dialects this change of gender is much rarer, and limited to a few definite words.

237. The terminations of the o-stems are :

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
	MASC.	NEUT.
N. V. A. — (-e; -u, -o)	-as	-u, —
G. -es	-a	
D. I. -e	-um	

The parenthetical -e; -u, -o of the nom. acc. sing. are the terminations of the *jo-* and *wo-*stems (246; 249).

NOTE 1. In the oldest texts, and at times later in R.¹ and North., the gen. sing. is formed in -æs: *dōmæs*, etc. For -æs R.¹, North., and sporadically LWS., sometimes have -as: *heofnas* (LWS. *heofonas*, etc.). For later -ys (also occasionally -is) see 44; note 2.

An umlauted gen., pointing to orig. -is, occurs in the Old Kent. adv. and gen. *ænes*; cf. also 100, note 5.

NOTE 2. The dat. and instr. sing. coincide in the majority of texts, but in the oldest documents the dat. ends in -æ, while the instr. (at first probably a locative) ends in -i: *dōmæ: dōmi* (Beitr. 8. 324 ff.); subsequently, y is now and then found for i (*foley*, etc.), and in R.¹ Rit. also sporadic -æ. The instr. seems originally to have had i-umlaut; compare the isolated form *hwēne*, from the neut. *hwōn*, *trifle*, and the instr. adj. *æne*, from *ān*, *one*.

A dat. loc. sing. without inflectional ending exists in *hām* (very rarely *hāme*), from the masc. *hām*, *home*, and the adverbial formulas *tō dæg*, *to-day* (older *tō dæge*; later also *ælcce*, *hwilce*, *sume*, *ōðre dæg*, etc.); *tō morgen*, *mergen*, *to-morrow*; *tō æfen*, *at evening*.

NOTE 3. In North. the nom. plur. of many masculines belonging to this declension has the weak ending -o (-a, -e): *gāstas* and *gāsto*, etc.; R.¹ likewise occasionally has -a. Very late WS. texts have -es for -as.

NOTE 4. The gen. plur. in North. is often formed in -ana, -ona, after the manner of the n-stems: *dagana*, -ona, *liomana*, from *dæg*, *lim*. R.¹ has, besides -a, also -æ, -e, and -ana. LWS. texts often have genitives in -ena, -ana. A rare (also North.) by-form of the ending -a is -o, as in *lēohtfato*.

NOTE 5. In the nom. acc. plur. of neut. nouns **-u** is the older, **-o** the more recent form. In LWS. the **-u**, **-o** is generally replaced by **-a**. Ps. has almost exclusively **-u**, R.¹ **-u**, rarely **-a**, **-e**, North. generally **-o**, but also not rarely **-a**; all three terminations occur in North., even in such neuters as are without endings in the other dialects (238).

NOTE 6. The dat. plur. frequently substitutes **-un**, **-on**, **-an** for **-um** in LWS. (cf. 293, note 2); this holds in all declensions.

a) SIMPLE O-STEMS

238. Paradigms for the masculine and neuter: masc. **dōm**, *judgment*; neut. **hof**, *dwelling*; **word**, *word*.

MASCULINE		NEUTER	
Sing. N. V. A.	dōm	hof	word
G.	dōmes	hofes	wordes
D. I.	dōme	hofs	wordes
Plur. N. V. A.	dōmas	hofu, -o	word
G.	dōma	hofs	worda
D. I.	dōmum	hofum	wordum

Like **dōm** are inflected primarily the monosyllabic masculines; like **hof** the monosyllabic neuters with a short radical syllable; and like **word** those with a long radical syllable.

NOTE 1. In certain LWS. texts the long neuters frequently take in the nom. acc. plur. the ending of the short: **wordu**, **weorcu**, etc.

NOTE 2. The words in **-els**, like **brīdels**, *bridle*; **fætels**, *scrip*; **gyrdels**, *girdle*; **riecels**, *incense*, are usually masc., rarely neut.

239. To this declension belong a great number of OE. nouns, and among them not a few which have been transferred to it from other declensions (especially long **i-** and **u-**stems; cf. 264; 265; 273).

1) Only those words are inflected with entire regularity which have an invariable final consonant and a

radical vowel incapable of change (except for i-umlaut, which need not here be considered). Such words are :

a) Masculines : *āð*, *oath* ; *hæft*, *captive* ; *helm*, *helmet* ; *hring*, *ring* ; *wulf*, *wolf* ; *earm*, *arm* ; *eorl*, *man* ; *mūð*, *mouth* ; *drēam*, *joy*, etc.

b) Neuters : a) short monosyllables : *col*, *coal* ; *dor*, *door* ; *geoc*, *yoke* ; *loc*, *lock*, *fold* ; *hop*, *recess* ; *lot*, *cunning* ; *sol*, *slough* ; *spor*, *trail* ; β) long monosyllables : *bān*, *bone* ; *bearn*, *child* ; *dēor*, *animal* ; *fȳr*, *fire* ; *gōd*, *good* ; *lic*, *body* ; *wif*, *wife*, etc.

2) Nouns whose radical syllable ends in a geminate simplify the latter in the cases without inflectional ending, according to 231 : masc. *weal*(l), *wall* ; *hwom*(m), *corner* ; neut. *ful*(l), *cup* ; gen. *wealles*, *hwomm*es, *fulles*, etc.

The remaining nouns of this declension come under one of the following rules :

240. Words with *æ* before a simple consonant, like the masculines *dæg*, *day* ; *hwæl*, *whale* ; *pæð*, *path* ; *stæf*, *staff* ; the neuters *bæc*, *back* ; *bæð*, *bath* ; *cræt*, *crate* ; *dæl*, *dale* ; *fæc*, *while* ; *fæt*, *vessel* ; *fnæd*, *fnæs*, *fringe* ; *hæf*, *ocean* ; *sæl*, *hall* ; *stæð*, *shore* ; *swæð*, *track* ; *scræf*, *cavern* ; *træf*, *tent* ; *wæd*, *sea* ; *wæl*, *those slain in battle*, change the *æ* into *a* throughout the plural : *dæg* — *dagas*, *daga*, *dagum* ; *fæt* — *fatu*, *fata*, *fatum* ; only rarely and in late texts does *æ* remain : *hwælas*, *stæðu*, *scræfu*, etc.

NOTE 1. Ps. generally has *ea* for this *a* : *featu*, *creatum*, etc. (160); and sometimes North. and the poetry before terminations containing *u*, *o* : *heafu*, *treafum*, etc. (103, note 2).

NOTE 2. In LWS. the *a* of the plur. intrudes even into the gen. dat. sing.: *pæð* — *paðes*, *paðe*; *fæt* — *fates*, *fate*.

NOTE 3. WS. *geat*, *gate* (from *gæt*, 75. 1) generally has plur. *gatu*, rarely *geatu* by analogy with the vowel of the sing.; occasionally also gen. dat. sing. *gates*, *gate* (note 2). In the poetry *geatu* predominates; Ps. has *get* — *geatu* (with *u*-umlaut). The plur. of *ceaf* seems to be only *ceafu*. *gærs*, *grass* (by metathesis for *græs*, 179) has plur. *grasu*.

NOTE 4. In like manner, *mæg*, *kinsman*, generally has plur. *māgas*, beside rare *māegas* (57, note 3).

241. The neuters with *e*, *i* before a single consonant, like *gebed*, *prayer*; *gebrec*, *clamor*; *geset*, *habitation*; *gesprec*, *conversation*; *brim*, *surf*; *clif*, *cliff*; *hlif*, *slope*; *limb*, *limb*; *scip*, *ship*; *geflit*, *dispute*; *genip*, *darkness*; *gewrit*, *document*, etc., originally have *eo*, *io* in the plur., by *u*- or *o/a*-umlaut, instead of *e*, *i*, so far as the phonetic laws of the various dialects permit (104 ff.; 160): *gebeodu*, *cliofu*, *Hoðu*, *Homu*, etc.; but in WS. prose this umlaut disappears, for the most part, rather early: *clifu*, *limu*, etc.

NOTE. The gen. plur. is the first to lose the *eo*, *io*. In the Ps., and to some extent in North., its occurrence is extended to the masculines: Ps. *weoras*, *weora*, *weogas* (usually *wegas*, according to 164. 1), North. *wearas*, *waras*, *-a*, etc. (156. 3).

242: Words in *h* lose this sound before a vowel ending.

1) If the *h* is preceded by a consonant, the radical vowel is lengthened when the *h* is lost, though it sometimes occurs as short (218. 1): masc. *seolh* — *sēoles* and *seoles*, *seal*; neut. *feorh* — *fēores* and *feores*, *life*. So masc. *fearh*, *swine*; *mearh*, *horse*; *ealh*, *temple*; *eolh*, *elk*; *healh*, *corner*; *sealh*, *willow*; *Wealh*, *Welshman*.

2) If the **h** is preceded by a vowel, the loss of the **h** involves contraction (110 ff.): masc. *eoh* — *ēos*, *horse*; neut. *feoh* — *fēos*, *money* (275; North. *feh*, gen. *fæes* L., *fēas* R.²); *ṭeoh* — *ṭēos*, *thigh*; and so masc. *fleah*, *flea* (usually weak masc. or fem. *fleā*, according to 277, note 2); *hōh*, *hough* (plur. *hōs*, *hōas*, dat. *hōm*, *hōum*, late *hōn*); *scōh*, *scēoh*, *shoe* (plur. *scōs*, *scēos*, late dat. *scōn*); neut. *flāh*, *fraud*; *pleoh*, *danger*; *slōh*, *slough* (also masc. and fem.); *wōh*, *evil*; *ṭrōh*, *malice*; perhaps also *fleah*, *albugo* (also *flio*, and with umlaut, *flie*).

NOTE 1. In the later prose *wōh* usually forms its polysyllabic cases with **g**: *wōges*, *wōge*, as if the **h** of the nom. had sprung from **g** (214. 1), in other words, as if conforming to models like *bēah* — *bēages*. On the other hand, there are sporadic nominatives without **h**, like *near* (223).

NOTE 2. Words in vowel + **h** have in the later language (earlier instances are wanting) the gen. plur. in **-na**, like the **n**-stems: *fēona*, *ṭeona*, *scēona* (but North. L. *scōe*, *scēōa*).

NOTE 3. The plur. of neut. *holh*, *hole*, seems to be *holu*, as if from the synonymous short *hol*.

NOTE 4. *horh*, *flth* (generally masc., rarely neut.), forms its gen. dat. sing. and plur. as *horwes*, *horwe*, *horwa*, *hor(e)wum*, with grammatical change (234; rarely gen. *hores*, etc.), but nom. acc. plur. *horas* (beside neut. *horwu*); the poetry has instr. sing. *horu*.

243. The polysyllabic words of this declension are subject to the following rules:

1) Neuters originally trisyllabic (that is, before the operation of the law for final vowels, 130 ff.), with a long radical syllable, like *nieten*, *cattle*; *hēafod*, *head*, have **u** in the nom. acc. plur., like the short monosyllables (without syncope of the middle vowel, 244. 2): *nietenu*, *hēafodu* (135. 2). In Ps., however, these cases are

often without termination : *hēafud*, beside *hēafudu*, *nētenu*, etc.

2) Originally trisyllabic neuters with a short radical syllable have no ending in the nom. acc. plur. : *reced*, *building*; *werod*, *bands* (135. 2); yet generally *yflu* (*yfelu*), *evils*, beside *yfel*. Forms like *weredu* are not found till late.

3) Original disyllables, like *wāp(e)n*, *weapon*; *tung-(o)l*, *star*; *tāc(e)n*, *sign*; *wund(o)r*, *wonder* (stems * *wāpna-*, * *tungla-*, * *taikna-*, * *wundra-*; cf. 138 ff.) are treated like the other long-stemmed neuters (238), that is, the nom. acc. plur. is without ending, like the nom. acc. sing.; yet they in some cases take the ending -u at a rather early period after the pattern of the trisyllabic : *wāpen*, *tungol*, *tācen*, *wundor*, and *wāp(e)nu*, *tunglu*, *tācnu*, *wundru*. So also *wæter*, *water* (stem * *watra-*), plur. *wæter*, and more frequently *wæt(e)ru*.

NOTE. The neut. *wolc(e)n*, *cloud*, sometimes throws off the final *n* in the earlier language : nom. acc. sing. and plur. *wolc*, but gen. always *wolcnes*, etc. (188, note 2). The umlauted plur. *welcnu* is not sufficiently vouched for. Beside *tācen* there is also a form *tānc*; beside *bēacen*, *sign*, also *bēanc*, *bēnc* (185; 108. 2). Instead of the plur. *tunglu* there is a late weak plur. *tunglan*.

4) The laws concerning the treatment of middle vowels (143; 144). Under these are included the following :

244. 1) Disyllabic words having a long stem syncope the vowel of the last syllable before a vocalic ending (144) when it is not rendered long by position : *engel* – *engles*, *angel*; *tungol* – *tungles*, *star*; *ātor* – *ātres*, *venom*; *tācen* – *tācnes*, *token*; *māðum* – *māðmes*, *jewel*; *hēafod* – *hēafdes*, *head*; *æled* – *ældes*,

fire; *morgen* — *morgnes* and *mornes*, *morn* (214, note 10); but *hengest* — *hengestes*, *stallion*; *fætels* — *fætelses*, *purse*, etc.

2) The older documents do not generally exhibit syncope of the originally trisyllabic nom. acc. plur. neut., like *nietenu*, *hēafodu* (144. *b*); while, on the other hand, they have *wāpnū*, *tunglu* (beside older *wāpen*, etc., 243). In later texts the difference is obliterated: *hēafdu*, etc.

245. Under similar circumstances, disyllabic words having a short stem retain the original vowel of the second syllable, but reject it whenever it arose from syllabic nasal or liquid in the nom. acc.; only *-er*, *-or*, from syllabic *r*, generally remains (148). Hence *stapol* — *stapoles*, *pillar*; *hamor* — *hamores*, *hammer*; *heofon* — *heofones*, *heaven*; *darof* — *darofes*, *arrow*; *Metod* — *Metodes*, *God*; *heorot* — *heorotes*, *hart*; but *fugol* — *fugles*, *fowl* (*fugoles*, *fugeles* only late); and likewise *leger* — *legeres*, *lair*; *ṭunor* — *ṭunores*, *thunder*; *wæter* — *wæteres* (and *wætres*), *water*, etc.

b) JO-STEMS

246. Paradigms for the masculine: *here*, *army*; *seġg*, *man*; *ende*, *end*. For the neuter: *cyn*, *kin*; *rice*, *realm*; *wēsten*, *desert*.

MASCULINE			
Sing. N. V. A.	<i>here</i>	<i>seġg</i>	<i>ende</i>
G.	<i>her(i)ges</i>	<i>seġges</i>	<i>endes</i>
D. I.	<i>her(i)ge</i>	<i>seġge</i>	<i>ende</i>
Plur. N. V. A.	<i>her(i)g(e)as</i>	<i>seġg(e)as</i>	<i>endas</i>
G.	<i>her(i)g(e)a</i>	<i>seġg(e)a</i>	<i>enda</i>
D. I.	<i>her(i)gum</i>	<i>seġg(i)um</i>	<i>endum</i>

NEUTER

Sing. N. V. A. cyn(n)	rice	wēsten
G. cynnes	rīces	wēstennes
D. I. cynne	rīce	wēstenne
Plur. N. V. A. cyn(n)	rīc(i)u	wēsten(n)u
G. cynna	rīc(e)a	wēstenna
D. I. cynnum	rīc(i)um	wēstennum

NOTE 1. For the e of the nom. acc. sing. the oldest texts have i: *heri*, *endi*, *rīci* (Beitr. 8. 326 ff.).

NOTE 2. Beside forms like nom. acc. plur. *rīc(i)u* there sometimes occur those in -io, -eo, like *gefylcio*, *rīceo*, etc.

For the insertion of e, i, to denote palatal pronunciation in the case of words in g, c, see 206. 3. b.

247. *here* and *seġg* exhibit the inflection of masculines, *cyn(n)* that of the neuters with a short radical syllable before the *jo* (stems **harja-*, **sagja-*, **kunja-*). Of these, *here* is the only one which has retained its short syllable, as the others doubled the final consonant in West Germ. (227). Further examples of this declension are:

a) Masculines: *hrycg*, *back*; *węcg*, *wedge*; *dyn(n)*, *din*; *hlyn(n)*, *uproar*; *hyl(1)*, *hill*.

b) Neuters: *net*, *net*; *flet*, *floor*; *będ*, *bed*; *węd*, *pledge*; *gied*, *saying*; *nęb*, *beak*; *wicg*, *horse*, etc.

NOTE 1. For the simplification of West Germ. geminates at the end of a word cf. 231.

NOTE 2. The gen. sing. of *here* sometimes occurs as *heres*, the dat. instr. sing. as *here*, and the nom. acc. plur. as *heras*. For the neut. *spere* see 262; 263, and note 4.

NOTE 3. The neut. *hī(e)g*, *hay* (Goth. *hawī*, stem **hawja-*) has retained the j in all its forms as g; but *hīew*, *hīw*, *form* (Goth. *hiwī*, stem **hiwja-*; dial. also *hīow* without umlaut, 100, note 2, North. *hīu*, in the poetry also *hēo*), has generalized the w: gen. *hīewes* (*hīowes*), etc. Stem **gliwja-*, neut., *joy*, has WS. **glīeg*, *glīg*, gen.

gliges, etc.; but Ep. *gliu*, and in the poetry *glēo*, gen. *gliwes*, rarely *gliowes*, etc. Stem **blija-*, neut., *color* (OS. *blī*, neut.), occurs as *blēo* (and with inorganic *h* as *blēoh*, 223, note 2), gen. *blēos*, etc. (and late *blēoges*, following *blēoh*, cf. 242, note 1), dat. plur. *blēom*, *blēoum* (*blēowum*), gen. *blēo* (later also *blēoa* and *blēona*, 242, note 3).

248. 1) Like *ende* are declined the masculines, like *rice* the neuters, with an originally long syllable before the *jo* (or *io*, according to 45. 8):

a) Masculines: *esne*, *servant*; *hierde*, *herdsman*; *læce*, *physician*; *mēce*, *sword*; and the numerous agent-nouns in *-ere* (North. often *-are*), like *bōcere*, *scribe*; *fiscere*, *fisherman*; *ðrōwere*, *martyr*, to which has been added the foreign word *cāsere*, *emperor* (LWS. occasionally merely *-re*: *bōcre*; *cwētre*, *lictōr*; *drēfre*, *disturber*; *gliwre*, *minstrel*; *rimre*, *calculator*; *scēawre*, *spy*; so also North. *scēawre*; *ðrōwre*, *martyr*; *ondetre*, *confessor*);

b) Neuters: *wāge*, *cup*; *wīte*, *punishment*; *stiele*, *steel*; *stycce*, *piece*; *ærende*, *errand*; formations with *ge-*, like *gewāde*, *clothing*; *gemierce*, *boundary*; *getimbre*, *carpentry*; and many others.

NOTE 1. Contraction occurs in the case of **gescīe*, *gescy*, *shoes*, and *gecy*, *pair of cows* (?), gen. plur. *gecy*.

2) Like *wēsten* go the derivatives in *-en*, like *æfen*, *evening* (also masc.), *fæsten*, *fortress*; and in *-et*, like *onælet*, *fire*; *lieget*, *lightning*; *nierwet*, *defile*, *pass*; *rēwet*, *rowing*; *sāwet*, *sowing*, etc.

NOTE 2. In the later texts *nn*, *tt* are usually simplified: *wēstenes*, *bærnetes*, etc. (231. 4), and even the preceding vowel is sometimes eliminated, as in *æfnes*, beside *æfenes* and *æfennes*; nom. acc. plur. *wēstnu*, beside *wēstenu* and *wēstennu*.

NOTE 3. *wēsten* is rarely fem., and in late texts masc.: plur. *wēstenas*; *lieget*, too, has occasionally a late plur. *liget(t)as*, beside which stands a fem. *liget(u)*, according to 258. 1.

NOTE 4. Here perhaps belong the diminutives in *-incel* (OHG. *-incll*): *bōgincel*, *twig*; *cofincel*, *cabinet*; *ſiowincel*, *servant*; *hæftincel*, *slave*; *hūsincel*, *cottage*; *liſincel*, *limb*; *rāpincel*, *cord*; *scipincel*, *bark*; *sūlincel*, *little furrow*; *tūnincel*, *small estate*; *wielincel*, *slave*, etc. These almost always syncopate the *e* when inflected: *hūsincles*, etc., but nom. acc. plur. *ſiowincelu* Ps., *sūlincela* Gl.

c) wo-STĒMS

249. The paradigm for the masculine is *bearu*, *grove*; for the neuter, *searu*, *armor* (stems **barwa-*, **sarwa-*).

MASCULINE	NEUTER
Sing. N. V. A. <i>bearu</i> , -o	<i>searu</i> , -o
G. <i>bearwes</i>	<i>searwes</i>
D. I. <i>bearwe</i>	<i>searwe</i>
Plur. N. V. A. <i>bearwas</i>	<i>searu</i> , -o
G. <i>bearwa</i>	<i>searwa</i>
D. I. <i>bearwum</i>	<i>searwum</i>

So likewise are inflected the neuters *bealu*, *evil*; *meolu*, *meal*; *smeoru*, *lard*; *teoru*, *tar*; *c(w)udu*, *cwiodu*, *cud*.

NOTE 1. A *u*, *o*, or *e* often occurs before the *w* in the oblique cases, the latter being especially found when the termination contains an *a*, *u*: *bealowes*, *-we*, but *bealewa*, *bealewum* (260, note 1; 300, note).

NOTE 2. In late texts *w* intrudes into the forms without inflectional ending: *smeoruw*, *meluw*; on the other hand, there is an early dat. plur. without *w*: *smerum*.

NOTE 3. The nom. acc. plur. of the neuters subsequently ends in *-wu*, *-wa*: *searwa*, etc.; compare also *horwu* (242, note 4).

NOTE 4. The compound *sciptearo* (from *teoru*) has an irregular gen. *sciptearos*; otherwise this word is also weak (276).

NOTE 5. Of long stems there belongs here probably *gād*, *lack* (Goth. *galdw*), found only in nom., which has lost its *w* according to 174. 2.

250. Words with a vowel before the *w* exhibit various discrepancies:

1) The originally long-stemmed masculines *snāw*, *snow*; *ðēaw*, *custom*; *dēaw*, *dew* (also neut.); *bēaw*, *gadfly*; neut. *bēow*, *grain* (ON. *bygg*; only gen. *bēowas*, *bēowes* Ep. and its kin); *sēaw* (rarely masc.), *sap*; *onclēow*, *ankle* (nom. acc. plur. *onclēow* and *onclēowu*); and the words formed by the prefix *ge-*, such as *gehrēow*, *penitence*; *gehlōw*, *bellow*, have *w* in all cases, if we except certain ancient forms like *snā*, *sēa* (174. 3).

NOTE 1. So is declined masc. *hlāw*, *hlāw*, *barrow* (rarely late neut.; originally no doubt a neut. *os*-stem, 288 ff.). To Goth. *hraiw*, *corpse* (also orig. neut. *os*-stem) corresponds *hrāw*, *hrāw* (late also *hrēaw*, 118, note 2) and neut. *hræ*, *hrā* (also masc., cf. 173. 2; 174. 3), gen. *hrāwes* and *hræs*, nom. acc. plur. *hræ(w)*, *hrā(w)*, *hrēaw* and *hrēawas*, etc., early gen. *hrā*, etc.

NOTE 2. The stems in *-īwa-* receive the same treatment in WS. as the other long stems: masc. *brīw*, *pottage*; *gīw* (*gīow*), *griffin*; *slīw*, *moth*; *Tīw*; gen. *brīwes*, etc.; Mercian has *g* for *w*: *brīg*, *gīg*, *slī(g)*, *Tīg*, gen. *brīges*, etc. Beside masc. *īw* (*īow*, *ēow*), *yew*, the Runic Song has *ēoh*. On *hīew* and *glīg* see 247, note 3.

2) The originally short neuters *strēaw*, *straw*; *trēow*, *tree*; *cnēow*, *knee*, and the masc. *ðēow*, *servant*, with its compounds *lāttēow*, *leader*; *lārēow*, *teacher* (stems **strawa-*, **trewa-*, **knewa-*, **pewa-*), are declined as follows in WS.:

Sing. N. A. <i>trēo(w)</i>		Plur. N. A. { <i>trēowu</i> , <i>trēo(w)</i>
G. <i>trēowes</i>		<i>ðēowas</i>
D. <i>trēowe (trēo)</i>		G. <i>trēowa</i>
I. <i>trēowe</i>		D. I. <i>trēowum</i>

NOTE 3. *hlēo*, *protection* (stem **hlewa-*, masc. or neut.), which only occurs in the sing., has a rare form *hlēow*; otherwise final *w*

(73, note 2) is generally found in WS. With *strēaw* (WS. only nom. acc. sing. and a plur. *strewu* [?]) compare the compound *strēa(w)-*, *strawberige*, *strawberry*. Beside *lāttēow*, *lārēow* there is also a WS. weak masc. *lāttēowa*, *lārēowa*, North. *lātua*, *lāru(u)a* L., *lārwa* R.² (276).

NOTE 4. The declension of these words in Angl. exhibits many variations:

a) Ps. has regularly masc. *ſēow*, *ſiow* (only once *ſēo*), gen. *-es*, etc., beside *lādtow*, plur. *-as*; but neut. sing. nom. acc. *trēo(w)*, *triow*, *trēw*, gen. *trēs*, dat. *trēo*; plur. nom. acc. *trēo*, *trēw*, *cnēow*, gen. *trēa*;

b) R.¹: sing. nom. acc. *-pēuw*, *lāttēuw*, *lār(ē)uw*, dat. *ſēuw*, *ſēow*, plur. nom. acc. *-pēu* (and adj. *-pēuwe*), *lātēuw*, *lātuwas*, *lātēwas*, *lārewas*, neut. sing. nom. acc. *strēu*, *knēu*, *trēuw*, *trēow*, gen. *trēowes*, *trēos*, dat. *trēo*, plur. acc. *cnēu*, dat. *trēowum*;

c) L.: masc. sing. nom. acc. *ſēa*, gen. *ſēas*, dat. *ſēua*, plur. nom. acc. *ſēas*, gen. *ſēana*, dat. *ſēawum*; sing. nom. acc. *lātuu*, *lāruu*, gen. *lāruas*, plur. nom. acc. *lātuas*, *lāru(u)as*, *lārwas*, gen. *lāraua*, dat. *lārwm*; neut. sing. nom. acc. *strē*, *trē(e)*, *trēo*, *trēu*, gen. *strēes*, *trēes*, dat. *trē(e)*, *trēo*, *cnē^{uo}*, *cnēw*, *cnēwa*, gen. *trēwna*, *trēuna*, *trēuana*, dat. *trēum*, *trēwum*, *cnēum*, *cnēuum*, *cnēoum*;

d) R.²: masc. sing. nom. acc. *lārow*, *forelātow*, plur. nom. acc. *lārwas*, gen. *lārwarā*, dat. *lārwm*, *-om*; neut. sing. nom. acc. *trēo*, *cnēo*, dat. *trēe*, plur. nom. acc. *trēo*, gen. *trēona*, dat. *trēoum*, *trēum*, *cnēom*;

e) Rit.: masc. sing. nom. acc. *ſēa*, gen. *ſēas*, dat. *ſēa*, plur. acc. *ſēa*, gen. *ſēana*, dat. *ſēaum*; sing. nom. acc. *lātwu*, *lār(w)u*, gen. *lārves*, plur. nom. acc. *lārwas*; neut. sing. nom. acc. *trē(e)*, plur. gen. *trēona*, dat. *cnēum*.

2. THE *ā*-DECLENSION

251. The *ā*-declension contains the feminines corresponding to the masculines and neuters in *-o*.

NOTE. In North. many of these feminines are also employed as neuters and masculines, and then conform to the inflections of these genders (236, note).

a) SIMPLE *ā*-STEMS**252. Paradigms :**a) for short stems : *giefu*, *gift* ;b) for long stems : *ār*, *honor*.

SHORT	LONG
Sing. N. V. <i>giefu</i> , -o	<i>ār</i>
G. <i>giefe</i>	<i>āre</i>
D. I. <i>giefe</i>	<i>āre</i>
A. <i>giefe</i>	<i>āre</i>
Plur. N. V. A. <i>giefu</i> , -e	<i>āra</i> , -e
G. <i>giefu</i> , -ena	<i>āra</i> , -na, -ena
D. I. <i>giefum</i>	<i>ārum</i>

NOTE 1. The oblique cases of the sing. and the nom. acc. plur. end in *-æ* in the oldest texts; only sporadically does the dat. instr. exhibit *-i*, as in *rōdi*, *cæstri*, in which the *i* is probably borrowed from the *o*-declension (237, note 2). For the declension of abstract nouns in *-ung* see 255. 1.

NOTE 2. In L. and Rit. these feminines have *-es* in the gen. sing., like the masc. and neut.: *rōdes*, *sāules*, *somnunes*, etc. Such genitives are not rare in LWS.: *helpes*, *sorges*, etc., especially in certain stereotyped phrases and constructions beginning with a genitive without the article, such as *helpes biddam*, *ādles grānung*, *sybbes* (257) *lufu*, and formulas like *sorges* and *sāres*, etc.

NOTE 3. In WS. and Kent. the nom. acc. plur. regularly ends in *-a*, while *-e* is clearly the orig. Angl. ending; accordingly *-a* is wanting in Ps. (as also in the oldest texts, see note 1; but R.¹ has *-a*, beside *-e*). In North. there is, beside *-e*, *-a*, a (weak) by-form in *-o* (253, note 2).

NOTE 4. In the gen. plur. *-a* is the proper and usual termination (compare Goth. *gibō*), while *-ena* has intruded from the weak declensions, occurring in WS. and Kent. only in certain short stems (such as *carena*, *frēmēna*, *gifēna*, *lufēna*); very rarely in long stems (*ār(e)na*, *lār(e)na*, *sorg(e)na*); in Cura Past. *-ena* is entirely wanting. On the relation between *-na* and *-ena*, as well as on dialectic by-forms, cf. 276, note 2 ff.

NOTE 5. The North. declension of feminines is much disordered. Thus in L. Rit. nominative forms also stand for the acc., more rarely for the dat., and conversely (R.² is more true in this respect to primitive conditions); and there are many other variations and uncertainties.

253. As examples of short stems may be adduced *caru* (*cearu*, 102, note 3), *care*; *sceomu*, *sceamu*, *shame*; *cwalu*, *death*; *laðu*, *invitation*; *swaðu*, *track*; *sacu*, *persecution*; *þracu*, *combat*; *wracu*, *persecution*; *qndswaru*, *answer*; *denu*, *valley*; *þegu*, *reception*; *scolu*, *shoal*; *lufu*, *love*, etc.

NOTE 1. Beside *giefu(m)*, *gifu(m)*, *gyfu(m)*, there occurs (especially in Ps. and North.) *geofu(m)*, with u-umlaut (106. 1). In Ps. the words with original *a* have *ea* in the nom. sing. and dat. plur., according to 160 (*qndswearu*, -um, etc.). In the cases which terminate in -e, the *a* of the root is often replaced by *æ*, particularly in the words which end in -c: *sæce*, *þræce*, *wræce*, but also *læðe*, *swæðe*, beside *sace*, *laðe*, *swaðe*, etc.

NOTE 2. In late texts the *u* of the nom. is frequently extended to the other cases of the sing.: *racu*, *sagu*, *talū*, *lufu*, etc. In North. the short-stemmed feminines have nearly lost all traces of declension; that is, they show in all cases except gen. dat. plur. an -o, more rarely -u, but also -a or -e: L. *lufu*, -o, -a; *wræcco*, -e, *wrac(c)o*; *geafo*, *geafa*, *gefo*, *gefe*; *sceoma* L., *scomu*, -o; R.² *lufo*, *wraco*, *geofo*, *gefe*, *snora*; Rit. *lufu*, *geafa*, *scoma*, *qndsvære*; and sporadically also R.¹ *lufu*, *geofu*, etc.; but also L. Rit. gen. sing. in -es, -æs: *gefes*, *lufes*, etc. (252, note 2).

254. 1) The number of feminines with a long stem is very considerable. Examples of monosyllabic words are: *feoht*, *fight*; *fōr*, *journey*; *glōf*, *glove*; *heall*, *hall*; *lār*, *lore*; *mearc*, *boundary*; *sorg*, *care*; *stund*, *time*; *þrāg*, *while*; *wund*, *wound*; with a derivative consonant: *ādī*, *disease*; *nēdl*, *needle*; *frōfor*, *consolation*; *wōcor*, *growth*; *ceaster*, *town*.

2) Like the long stems, the originally trisyllabic stems with a short radical syllable discard the *u* of the nom. sing.: *byden*, *butt*; *ciefes*, *concubine*; *fīren*, *iniquity*; *tigol*, *tile*; (but exceptionally with *u* there occurs *egenu*, *chaff* = OHG. *agana*). To these must

be added the original *i*-stems *ides*, *woman*; *duguþ*, *virtue*; *geoguþ*, *youth* (269, note 4), and the long stem *sāwol*, *soul* (Goth. *saiwala*), together with all abstract nouns in *-ung*, *-ing*, like *monung*, *warning*; *leornung*, *-ing*, *learning* (255. 1).

255. The following peculiarities of this declension still remain to be noted:

1) The WS. and Kent. abstracts in *-ung* frequently have in the dat. sing., but also in the gen. sing., and even in the acc. sing., the termination *-unga* instead of *-unge*: *leornunga*, *costunga*, etc.

NOTE 1. In Ps. there is still a gradation of the suffixal vowel, so that the dat. plur. ends in *-ingum*, while the other cases have *-ung* (the gen. plur. is not found, Zeuner, p. 58).

2) Disyllabic words with a long stem-syllable and simple final consonant syncopate the vowel of the final syllable (144) in the oblique cases, while those with a short stem retain it: *sāwol* — *sāwle* (*sǣule*), *soul*; *frōfor* — *frōfre*, *consolation*; *wōcor* — *wōcre*, *usury*; but *firen* — *firene*, *sin*; *ides* — *idese*, *woman*, etc.

3) The originally trisyllabic abstracts which in Goth. end in *-īpa* have in the nom. sing. the ending *-u*, *-o*, like the short stems, but subsequently assume a shortened form in *-ō*: *cýððu* and *cýð(ō)* (OHG. *cundida*), *race*, *kinship*; *stręngðu* and *stręngō* (OHG. *stręngida*), *strength*; *gesyntu* (OHG. *gasuntida*), *health*; *ēaðmēttu* (OHG. **ōtmuotida*), *humility*; *ofermēttu* (OHG. **ubarmuotida*), *arrogance*; and *weorðmynt* (orig. **-mundīpa*), *honor*. Both forms intrude gradually into the oblique cases of the sing., especially into the acc., which originally had only *-e*, following the rule.

NOTE 2. This usurpation on the part of the *-u* is presumably caused by the abstracts in *-u* (279).

4) Words in *h* lose it before a vowel termination, whereupon contraction may supervene (cf. 242): *snearh* — *snēare*, *harp-string*; *lēah* — *lēa*, *lea*.

NOTE 3. LWS. *lēah* often has gen. *lēage*, etc., like words in *g* becoming *h* when final (214. 1); but also frequently later masc. *lēa*, gen. sing. nom. acc. plur. *lēas*, and more rarely gen. *lēages* in compound place-names. The neut. masc. *slōh* also has occasionally the fem. gen. dat. sing. *slō* (242. 2).

NOTE 4. *brū*, *brow*, has nom. acc. plur. *brūa* and *brūwa*, dat. *brūum* (*brūm*?) and *brūwum*, gen. *brūna*.

b) *jā*-STEMS

256. The originally short stems have all become long by the gemination of the consonant preceding the *j* (227), and their declension no longer differs from that of the stems originally long. The terminations are those laid down in section 252, so far as no express statements to the contrary are made below.

257. Paradigms:

a) for stems originally short: *sib(b)*, *peace*;

b) for stems originally long: *gierd*, *rod*.

Sing. N. V.	<i>sib(b)</i>	<i>gierd</i>	Plur. N. V.	<i>sibba</i> , -e	<i>gierda</i> , -e
G.	<i>sibbe</i>	<i>gierde</i>	G.	<i>sibba</i>	<i>gierda</i>
D. I.	<i>sibbe</i>	<i>gierde</i>	D. I.	<i>sibbum</i>	<i>gierdum</i>
A.	<i>sibbe</i>	<i>gierde</i>	A.	<i>sibba</i> , -e	<i>gierda</i> , -e

NOTE 1. For the simplification of West Germ. geminates at the end of a word cf. 231.

NOTE 2. The *jā*-stems never take a gen. plur. in *-(e)na* (252, note 4). On an occasional gen. sing. in *-es* see 252, note 2.

NOTE 3. The declension of the *jā*-stems differs from that of the simple long *ā*-stems only in the total lack of the weak gen. plur., and in the *i*-umlaut of the radical syllable. They are distinguished from the long *i*-stems (269) by the acc. sing. in *-e*.

258. 1) Among the monosyllables which are declined like *sibb* are the following: *bēn*, *death-wound*; *brycg*, *bridge*; *cribb*, *manger*; *ēcg*, *edge*; *fit*, *canto*; *hēll*, *hell*; *hēn*, *hen*; *nyt*, *advantage*; *sæcc*, *contest*; *sēcg*, *sword*; *syll*, *sill*. To these must be added, so far as regards the gemination of a final consonant before a vowel ending, certain derivatives in *-l*, *-n*, and *-s*, like *cōndel*, *candle*; *gyden*, *goddess*; *wiergen*, *she wolf*; *byrðen*, *burden*; *ræden*, *arrangement*; *hægtes*, *witch*; *forlēgis*, *adulteress*; *Lindis*, *Lincolnshire*; gen. *cōndelle*, *wiergenne*, *byrðenne*, *hægtesse*, etc.; together with the abstract nouns in *-nes*, gen. *-nesse*, like *hālignes*, *holiness*.

On the other hand, certain derivatives in *t*, especially *hyrnetu*, *hornet* (Erf. *hīrnitu*, Corp. *hurnitu*); *ielfetu*, *swan* (Ep. Corp. *ælbītu*); **liegetu*, *lightning* (Ps. *lēgitu*), have in the earlier language *-u* in the nom. sing. after a single *t*, while the oblique cases double the *t*: *ligette*, etc. (but Ps. *lēgite*).

NOTE 1. Here belongs, likewise, the foreign word *lēmpedu*, *lam-prey*. — There are also later abbreviated nominatives like *hyrnet*, and regular weak inflections like *hyrnette*, *ylfette*, gen. *-an*, etc.; on *lieget* as a neut. see 248. 2, with note 3. — In LWS. there is sometimes a nom. sing. in *-nisse*, *-nyse*, instead of *-nes*, *-nis*, *-nys*. In like manner, R.¹ has *-nisse*, beside *-nis*, *-nes*; R.² *-nisse* (*-nesse*), beside *-nis*; L. Rit. *-nise*, *-nisse*, beside L. *-nis(s)*.

NOTE 2. Other nouns having *u* in the nom. sing. are *eowu*, *ewe* (Goth. **awī*), beside *ēwe*, *eowe*, gen. *eowo* and *ēwes*, *cowes*, and *ſeowu*, *handmaiden* (Goth. *plwī*), beside *ſeowe*, from which latter form we have also weak forms, gen. *ſeowan*, etc. The feminine nouns derived from masculines by *i*-umlaut and the addition of *-en*

occasionally take the nominative ending *-u* in LWS.: *gydenu*, *goddess*; *ſinenu*, *mennenu*, *handmaiden*; *mynecenu*, *nun*; now and then there are weak forms, like nom. *nefene*, *granddaughter*, infl. *gydenan*, etc.

NOTE 3. The double consonants of derivatives are often simplified in later texts: *-rædene*, etc. (231. 4).

NOTE 4. Here belongs also WS. *cnēoris*, gen. *cnēorisse*, *generation* (so also R.¹; Blickl. *cnēorissn*). North. has *cnēo-*, *cnēuresu*, *-o*, *-a*, *-risso*, *-rise*, also *-reswu*, *-o*, plur. *-reswo* L. R.², etc.

2) With *gierd* belong, for example, *æx*, *ax* (Ps. *æces*, North. *acas*); *hild*, *battle*; *hind*, *hind*; *hȳð*, *booty*; *wylf*, *she wolf*; *ȳð*, *wave*; and certain derivatives in *-s*, like *bliðs*, *bliss*, *bliss*; *liðs*, *liss*, *favor*; *milds*, *milts*, *compassion*.

NOTE 5. In *ieg*, *ig* (*æg*), *island* (ON. *ey*, *eyjar*); *cæg*, *key*, the derivative *j* is retained as *g*. For *bend* see 266, note 1.

c) *wā*-STEMS

259. Nouns with a long vowel or diphthong are regularly declined like the simple *ā*-stems: *stōw* (*stōu*), *place*; *hrēow*, *repentance*; *trēow*, *faithfulness*; gen. *stōwe*, *hrēowe*, etc.

NOTE. Without *w* appear *ðrēa*, *threat*, *throe* (from **pra(w)u*, compare Ep. *thrauu*, OHG. *drawa*), and *clēa*, *clēo*, *claw* (from **kla(w)u*, **klā(w)u*, compare, OHG. *klāwa*, 111; 112). The former is indeclinable, except for the dat. plur. *ðrēa(u)m*, or more rarely inflects as a weak masc. (277, note 2). Of *clēa* there is only the acc. plur. *clēa*, *clēo*, dat. *clēam*, and poet. *clām*; but, besides, *clawu*, a new formation, is regularly declined like *giefu*. On *ēa* see 284, note 4.

260. When a consonant precedes the *w*, the paradigms are as follows: *beadu*, *battle*; *mæd*, *mead*.

Sing. N. <i>beadu</i>	<i>mæd</i>	Plur. N. <i>beadwa</i> , <i>-e</i>	<i>mæd(w)a</i> , <i>-e</i>
G. <i>beadwe</i>	<i>mæd(w)e</i>	G. <i>beadwa</i>	<i>mæd(w)a</i>
D. I. <i>beadwe</i>	<i>mæd(w)e</i>	D. I. <i>beadwum</i>	<i>mæd(w)um</i>
A. <i>beadwe</i>	<i>mæd(w)e</i>	A. <i>beadwa</i> , <i>-e</i>	<i>mæd(w)a</i> , <i>-e</i>

Like **beadu** are declined the short stems **nearu**, *distress*; **sceadu**, *shadow*; **si(o)nu**, *sinew*; and the plur. tant. **geatwe**, *arms*; **frætwe**, *ornaments*. Like **mæd** are declined the long stems **læs**, *pasture*; **blōd(es)læs**, *phlebotomy*; **ræs**, *suggestion(?)*.

NOTE 1. Occasionally a vowel appears before the **w** of the short stems: **beadowe**, **nearowe**, **geatewe**, **frætewum** (249, note 1).

NOTE 2. **sceadu** (also neut. **scead**, plur. **sceadu**) more generally inflects like **giefu** (252), as does **sinu** rather frequently: gen. **sceada**, **sine**, etc. The Leiden Riddle has from **geatwe** a dat. plur. **geatum**, and the Cod. Dipl. a nom. plur. **hergeatu**. On North. **cneureso** see 258, note 4.

NOTE 3. The long stems have regularly lost the **-u** of the nom. sing. (yet we find a newly formed nom. **blōdlæswu**, beside **blōdlæs**), and so developed at an early period forms without **w**. **mæd** has an early dat. **mēda**, as if from a **u**-stem (274).

3. THE **i**-DECLENSION

261. The **i**-declension of OE. is chiefly confined to masculines and feminines, since a few words which were originally neuter, like **mære**, **mene**, **ele** (and **bere**, **ege**, **hete**, **sig**, 263, note 4), have passed over to the masculine gender.

With the exception of masc. **Seaxe** (264); fem. **meaht**, beside **miht** (Old Kent. Angl. **mæht**); **gesceaft**, *creature*; **geðeaht**, *thought* (both also neut.), and the neut. **spere** (262; 263), the nouns of this declension have in all cases **i**-umlaut if the radical syllable will admit (**liode**, later **lēode**, *people*, 264, has semiumlaut to **io**, 100. 2, and note 2); this often furnishes the only test by which to distinguish these words from those of the **o**-declension, with which the masculines have much in common.

The masculine and neuter nouns with a short radical syllable end in *-e* in the nom. acc. sing., while the corresponding feminines have *-u*; all the long *i*-stems, on the other hand, terminate in a consonant without distinction of gender.

a) MASCULINES AND NEUTERS

1) Short Stems

262. Paradigms: masc. *wine, friend* (Germ. **wini-z*); neut. *spere, spear*.

MASC. NEUT.		MASC. NEUT.	
Sing. N. V. A.	<i>wine spere</i>	Plur. N. V. A.	<i>wine, -as speru</i>
G.	<i>wines speres</i>	G.	<i>wina, winig(e)a spera</i>
D. I.	<i>wine spere</i>	D. I.	<i>winum sperum</i>

263. 1) Like *wine* are declined such masculines as *bere, barley*; *dene, valley*; *ele, oil*; *hefe, weight*; *hege, hedge*; *mene, necklace*; *mere, sea*; *mete, food*; *sele, hall*; *stede, place* (beside *styde*, esp. Kentish; North. *styd*, note 5); *ciele, coolness*; *haele, man*; *hype, hip*; *hyse, youth*; *byre, son*; *hyge, myne, mind*; *pyle, pillow*; *ryge, rye*; *tyle, orator*; *dile, dill*; *ile, sole of the foot*; *wlite, countenance*; the plural *Dene, Danes* (sing. in the compound *Healfdene*); and a great number of verbal abstracts like *drepe, stroke*; *ece, ache*; *ege, terror*; *hete, hate*; *slege (slæge), blow* (plur. *slegeas*, 206. 3. b); *staepe, step* (plur. *staepas*, etc., also late *stapas*); *bite, bite*; *blice, exposure*; *cwide, speech*; *gripe, grip*; (*æt-, on-*)*hrine, touch*; *scride, step*; *sice, sigh*; *sige, victory*; *slide, fall*; *snide, incision*; *spiwe, spewing*; *stice, stitch*; *stige, ascent*; *stride, stride*; *swile (swyle),*

tumor; *oftige*, *subtraction*; *bryce*, *breach*; *bryce*, *custom*; *bryne*, *burning*; *byge*, *bend* (plur. *bygeas*); (*ge*)*byre*, *event*; *cyme*, *coming*; *cyre*, *choice*; *drype*, *blow*; *dryre*, *fall*; *dyne*, *din*; *flyge*, *flight*; *gryre*, *horror*; *gyte*, *inundation*; *hryre*, *fall*; *lyge*, *lie*; *lyre*, *loss*; *forenyme*, *presumption*; *ryne*, *course*; *scyfe*, *shove*; *scyte*, *shot*; *sype*, *sip*, etc.; and the abstracts in *-scipe*, *-ship*, like *frēondscipe*, *friendship*.

2) Neuters are such as *sife*, *sieve*; *ofdele*, *ofdæle*, *declivity*; *gedyre*, *door-post*; *oferslege*, *lintel*; *orlege*, *fate*; *wlæce*, *tepidity*, and probably also *gemyne*, *care*; *gedyne*, *din*; *gewile*, *will*, whose gender is doubtful.

NOTE 1. In the oldest texts the sing., with the exception of the gen., ends in *i* (246, note 1): Bede has an early gen. in *-is*: *Eadwinis*.

NOTE 2. The proper termination of the nom. acc. plur. of the masculines is *-e*, older *-i* (compare Goth. *gastels*, and 44, note 1); the termination *-as* is borrowed from the *o*-declension, although it is more common than *-e*. In the gen. plur. the form in *-a* is by far the more common. The ending *-ig(e)a*, *-ia* is only found in *Dēnig(e)a*, *winig(e)a*.

NOTE 3. A few words go over more or less completely to the *jo*-declension, by doubling the simple consonant at the end of the radical syllable (227; 247), and dropping the *-e* in the nom. acc. sing. Thus WS. *mēte* regularly forms the plur. *mēttas* (more rarely a sing. *mētt*, *mēttes*), *hyse* has *hysas* and *hyssas* (likewise in the sing. *hysses*, etc.), *ille* has plur. *illas* and *ilas*. Parallel with *dyne* occurs *dynn*, *dynnes*; beside *ofdele*, North. *æfdæll*; and, beside *gewile*, usually *gewill*. Irregular are *gewif*, *fate*, gen. *gewifes*, plur. *gewi(o)fu*, beside *gewef*, *web*; *sēl*, *hall*, plur. *sēlu*, beside neut. *sæl*, masc. *sēle*, and (neut.?) *salor*.

NOTE 4. *bere*, *ege*, *hete*, *sige*, and perhaps a few others, were without doubt originally neuters in *-iz* (compare Goth. **bariz-* (in *barizeins*), *agis*, *hatis*, *sigis*), but were treated like masculines in *-i-z*; the neuters which remain also probably belonged to the *iz*-class (288 ff.), as well as *spere*, which appears in early compounds as *spe(o)ru-* (128; 288 ff.). *hæle* (*hæle*?), which only occurs in the

sing., has come from the consonant-declension (281. 1). Quite exceptionally *ele* occurs as neut., instead of masc.

NOTE 5. In North. the nom. acc. sing. of these words, so far as the few instances show, is regularly shortened: *wilt*, *countenance*; *met(t)*, *food*; *sig*, *victory* (also neut. *gisig*); *lyg*, *lie*; neut. *styd*, *place*; as plurals occur R.² *metas*, and weak *met(t)o* (beside L. *mett*, R.² *mete*, if these are not singular forms) and *styde*. In composition, too, these words lose their -e in North.: *sigbæg*, *crown*; *sigfæst*, *victorious*; *stydfæst*, *steadfast*; *unstydful*, *apostate*; *metbælg*, *scrip*, etc. In the older language this shortening, however, seems to be confined to the words *sig* and *hyge*: compare proper nouns like *Sigröd*, *Sigmund*, *Hygberht*, *Hyglæc*, or *Wulfsig*, *Hūnsig*, beside *Ælifuini*, *Alduini*, *Siguini*, or *Hysiuulf*, *Hysimōn*, *Uinibald*, *Uinlæc*, etc. (Lib. Vitæ).

NOTE 6. The short *i*-stems differ from the short *jo*-stems like *here* (246) by the uniform absence of -i(g)- in certain cases of the sing. and plur. (and in part by the different terminations of the nom. acc. plur.). They differ from words like *secg* (246), whose stem has become long, by possessing the -e in the nom. acc. sing. and plur., as well as the single consonant at the end of the radical syllable.

NOTE 7. In the declension of the short *i*-stems is to be included the plur. tant. -ware, -a, *people*, like *Rōmware*, *Cantware*, etc. (besides -waras and weak -waran). This was originally a plur. of the sing. -waru, *people* (252).

2) Long Stems

264. The long masculines have dwindled to a scanty remnant, and these are found only in the plural; compare the paradigm *Engle*, *Angles* (Germ. stem **Angli*-).

Plur. N. V. A. *Engle*
G. *Engla*
D. I. *Englum*

Thus are declined a few proper nouns like *Seaxe*, *Saxons* (261); *Mierce*, *Mercians*; *Dēre*, *Deirians*; *Beornice*, *Bernicians*; *Norð(an)-*, *Sūðhymbre*, *Northumbrians*, etc.; the foreign words *Ēgip̃te*, *Crēce*, *Perse*

(beside *Crēcas*, *Persēas*); and the plurals *ielde*, *ylde*, *men*; *ielfe*, *elves*; *liode*, *people* (261). The poetry rarely has *-a* for the nom. acc. plur., as in *lēoda*.

NOTE. A few of the gentile nouns, particularly *Seaxe* and *Mierce*, occasionally have a weak form in *-na* in the gen. plur.: *Seaxna*, *Miercna* (rarely *-ena*); less common is weak declension in the other cases.

265. The other masculines belonging under this head have assumed the endings of the *o*-declension, and hence differ from the *o*-stems only in respect to etymology, the *i*-umlaut of the radical syllable, and the palatalization of final gutturals (206. 3. *b*). Paradigm: *wyrm*, *worm* (Prim. Germ. * *wurmi-z*):

Sing. N. V. <i>wyrm</i>	Plur. N. V. <i>wyrmas</i>
G. <i>wyrmes</i>	G. <i>wyrma</i>
D. I. <i>wyrme</i>	D. I. <i>wyrmum</i>
A. <i>wyrm</i>	A. <i>wyrmas</i>

266. Here belong *bend*, *band*; *bielg*, *bag*; *bræw*, *brow*; *dæl*, *part*; *dēmm*, *injury*; *ēnt*, *giant*; *fierst*, *time*; *fyr̥s*, *furze*; *giest*, *guest*; *glæm*, *gleam*; *gylt*, *guilt*; *hyll*, *hill*; *lieg*, *flame*; *lyft*, *air*; *mæw*, *mew*; *sæl*, *time*; *steng*, *pole* (plur. *stengeas*, etc.); *streng*, *string* (plur. *strengas*, etc.); *ŧyrs*, *giant*; *wæg*, *bilow*; *wiell*, *well*; and a series of verbal nouns, like *brygd*, *brandishing*; *byrst*, *damage*; *cierr*, *turn*; *cierm*, *clamor*; *dr̥enc*, *drync* (*drinc*), *drink* (plur. *dr̥enceas*, dat. *dr̥encium*, etc.); *dynt*, *blow*; *feng*, *grasp*; *fiell*, *fall*; *flyht*, *flight*; *hlyst*, *hearing*; *hwyrft*, *turn*; *hyht*, *hope*; *lēc*, *look*; *slielt*, *slaughter*; *smiec*, *odor*; *st̥enc*, *smell* (plur. *st̥enceas*, etc.); *stiell*, *jump*; *swæg*, *clamor*;

swęng, *stroke* ; **swylt**, *death* ; **tyht**, *instruction* ; **þyrst**, *thirst* ; **wręnc**, *wrench, trick* (plur. **wręnceas**, dat. **wręncium**, etc.) ; **wyrp**, *cast* ; **ærist** (**ærist**?), *resurrection* ; **æsprýng**, *well* ; **æfst**, *envy* (43, note 4), etc.

NOTE 1. The nom. acc. plur. of **bęnd** is not only **bęndas**, but also (especially Anglian?) **bęnda**, **bęnde**, of which the singular is probably a fem. **bęnd**, belonging to 257 (Goth. **bandi**). Other words follow the declension of the feminines (269), like **ærist**, **æsprýng**, **lyft** (LWS. also neut., with plur. **lyftu**), **hlyst**, **sæl**, etc.

NOTE 2. **sæ**, *sea* (Goth. **saiws**), inflects partly as masc.: gen. **sæs**, dat. **sæ**, nom. acc. plur. **sæs** (Ps. **sæas**), gen. **sæwa** (?), dat. **sæm** (**sæwum**) ; partly as fem.: gen. dat. **sæ** (gen. also **sæs** and **sæwe**), nom. acc. plur. **sæ**, etc. (269, note 3). The foreign word **drý**, *wizard* (from Celtic **drūl**), has gen. **drýs** (LWS. also **drýes**), dat. **drý**, nom. acc. plur. **drýas**, gen. **drýra** (?), dat. **drýum**.

NOTE 3. On **bræw** (Angl. **bræg**) — **bræaw** see 212, note 2.

267. This class contains no neuters which originally belonged to it, that is, which belonged to it in Germ. or West Germ. (261). Notwithstanding, there are certain words, originally belonging to other declensions, which have assumed in OE. an inflectional type that can be assigned to this place, in virtue of their uniform *i*-umlaut and the consonant termination of their nom. acc. sing., particulars in which they agree with the long-stemmed masculines and feminines of the *i*-declension. Here belong:

a) Original neuters, like **flæsc**, *flesh* ; **flies**, *fleece* (Angl. ***flios**, **flēos**, Leid. Rid. **flius**) ; **hæl**, *welfare* ; **hilt**, *hilt* ; **læn**, *loan* ; **hrēð**, *fame* (masc.?) ; nouns with the prefix **ge-**, such as **gebęnn**, *ban* ; **gefēg**, *joining* ; **gehielð** (Angl. **gehæld**), *protection* ; **gehlýd**, *clamor* ; **gereşp**, *blame* ; **geswinc**, *tribulation* ; **gewēd**, *rage* ; **gewielec**, *breakers* ;

North. Rit. **onwæld**, *power* (beside **onweald**, usually masc.); **geswyrf** (?), *filings*; **gegrynd**, *plot of ground*; **gedwīld**, *error*; **gehnāest**, *conflict*; and probably **æcyrf**, *fragment*; **felcyrf**, *præputium* (masc.?). These are declined like **cynn**, 246 (dat. plur. **geswincium**, 206. 3. b).

NOTE 1. Beside these forms are occasionally found others without i-umlaut, like **gebōnn**, **gefōg**, **geheald**, **gehnāst**, **gewealc**, or by-forms with **r**, like **hālor**, **hrōðor**; this renders it probable that these words were originally **os/es**-stems (288 ff.).

b) Original feminines, especially nouns with the prefix **ge-**: **gebyrd**, *nature*; **gecynd**, *race*; **gehygd**, *thought*; **oferhygd**, *arrogance*; **gemynd**, *mind*; **genyht**, *sufficiency*; **geðyld**, *patience*; **gewyrht**, *deed*; **forwyrd**, *destruction*; **fulwiht**, *fulluht*, *baptism*; **grīn**, *snare*; **wiht**, *wuht*, *thing*. These also occur as feminines (269), and are frequently, in some instances predominantly, so declined. As neuters they follow in general the declension of **cynn** (246) or **word** (238), but have in the nom. acc. plur. the ending **-u**, **-o**, as far as instances occur: **gehygdu**, **oferhygdu**, **gewyrhtu**, **grīnu**, **wihtu**; yet a few forms occur without ending, like **gecynd**, beside **gecyndu**.

NOTE 2. To the foregoing singulars must be added the plur. tant. **giftu**, *nuptials*; **gedryhtu**, *elements*; **gehyrstu** (beside **gehyrste**), *trappings*; which must originally have been feminines. In late texts other feminines of the i-declension occasionally assume the ending **-u** of the neut. plur.: **lyftu**, **wīstu**, **samwīstu**, from **lyft**, *air*; **wīst**, *food*; **samwīst**, *matrimony*. So, too, the unumlauted **gesceaft**, originally a feminine, according to the cognate Germanic tongues (261; 269), but likewise a neuter in OE., forms a plur. **gesceaftu**, beside **gesceafte**, **-a**, according to 252. For **geðeaht** see 261; 269.

NOTE 3. **wuht**, **wiht**, in the sense of 'being,' 'creature,' is almost always fem. (though neut. in Blickl.), and does not form the plur. **wihtu** till LWS. (cf. note 2); but in the generalized sense of 'thing,' 'something,' it assumes the neuter gender, side by side with the feminine, at an early period. For the compound **nāwuht**, etc., see 348.

NOTE 4. Beside **gecynd**, fem. neut., there exist two other singulars, probably deduced from the plur. **gecyndu**: **gecynde**, neut. (246), and **gecyndu**, -o, weak fem. (279); so **gebyrd** has a weak form **gebyrdu**, -o.

b) FEMININES

1) Short Stems

268. But few remains are preserved, and not all of these are certain: **frēmu**, *benefit*, and perhaps **hylu**, *hollow*; **-lēgu**, *laying down*; and **-nēru**, *deliverance*, in **ealdorlēgu**, **feorhlēgu** (or **-nēru**), of whose nominatives we have no examples.

The declension of these words has entirely conformed to that of the short *ā*-stems like **giefu** (252), or to that of the abstracts in -u, like **strēngu** (279), and they ought perhaps to be classed with these rather than credited to the *i*-declension.

2) Long Stems

269. Paradigm: **bēn**, *petition* (Prim. Germ. ***bōni-z**).

Sing. N. V. bēn	Plur. N. V. bēne , -a
G. bēne	G. bēna
D. I. bēne	D. I. bēnum
A. bēn	A. bēne , -a

Thus are declined such as **benc**, *bench*; **brȳd**, *bride*; **cwēn**, *woman*; **dryht**, *host*; **fȳst**, *fist*; **hȳd**, *skin*; **hȳf**, *hive*; **hyrst**, *trappings*; **lyft**, *air*; **nied**, *need*; **tīd**, *time*;

ðrȳð, *strength*; **wēn**, *hope*; **wiht**, **wuht**, *creature*; **wynn**, *pleasure*; **wyrd**, *fate*; **wyrt**, *herb, root*; **bȳsen**, *example* (gen. **bȳsne**, etc.); **ǣ(w)**, *law, marriage*, and many verbal abstracts (with the original suffix **-ti**): **dǣd**, *deed*; **fierd**, *army*; **glēd**, *gleed*; **spēd**, *success*; **scyld**, *guilt*; **gehygd**, **gemynd**, *thought*; **gewyrht**, *deed*; **geðyld**, *patience*; **ǣht**, *property*; **meaht**, **miht**, *might* (261); **ēst**, *grace*; **wist**, *sustenance*; **ȳst**, *storm*; **ǣrist**, *resurrection*, etc. Regularly without umlaut occur **gesceaft**, *creation, creature*; **geðeaht**, *thought* (both also neut., 261).

NOTE 1. The endings of this declension are the same as those of the **ā**-declension, except in the acc. sing., which in the latter has **-e**. This termination is introduced into the **i**-declension (at an early period, and to a considerable extent, in North. R.¹ and to some extent Ps.; in WS. and Kent. it makes its appearance later, and is at first comparatively rare): **tīde**, **cwēne**, etc.

NOTE 2. The genuine oldest termination of the nom. acc. plur. is **-i** (**mæcti** Cædmon's Hymn; compare Goth. **mahtels**), which subsequently became **-e** (44). Notwithstanding, there is also an early intrusion of **-æ** from the **a**-declension (Ep. **uuyrdæ**); cf. also note 5.

NOTE 3. **ǣ** is indeclinable in the whole sing. and the nom. acc. plur.; but there is also found a gen. dat. sing. **ǣwe**, in agreement with which there is formed a nom. acc. **ǣw**; a few texts seem to distinguish between **ǣ**, *law*, and **ǣw**, *marriage*. For **sǣ** see 266, note 3.

NOTE 4. **lyft** and **ǣrist**, and a few others, are also masc. (266, note 1); **gecynd**, **gehygd**, **gemynd**, **gewyrht**, **wiht**, **wuht**, etc., are also neuter (267. b). **duguð**, *virtue*; **geoguð**, *youth*; and **ides**, *woman*, which elsewhere belong to the **i**-declension, in OE. follow the **ā**-declension (252); **sīen** (**sȳn**), **sīon** (**sēon**), *face*; **onsīen**, *face, view*, etc., frequently have in WS. the acc. sing. **sēon**, but in Ps. always take **-e**, according to the **ā**-declension: **onsīene**; North. varies.

NOTE 5. In North. many of these feminines appear also as neuters (251, note). Among special deviations from the regular inflectional types are to be noted the gen. sing. in **-es** of L. and Rit.: **tīdes**, **dēdes**, etc. (and so sporadically in LWS.; cf. also 252, note 2), and the weak plur., as in nom. acc. **tīdo**, **dēdo**, gen. **tīdana**, **dēdana**, etc.

4. THE u-DECLENSION

a) MASCULINES

1) Short Stems

270. Paradigm : **sunu**, *son* (Germ. ***sunu-z**, Goth. **sunus**).

Sing. N. V. **sunu**, -o; -a
 G. **sunā**
 D. **sunā**; -u, -o
 A. **sunu**, -o; -a
 I. **sunā**

Plur. N. V. **sunā**; -u, -o
 G. **sunā**
 D. I. **sunum**
 A. **sunā**; -u, -o

271. The number of words which follow this declension is quite limited: fully inflected are only **sunu** and **wudu**, *wood*. Beside nom. acc. sing. **me(o)du**, *mead*; **magu**, *boy*, there are only dat. **meodu**, -o, nom. acc. plur. **magas**. Of **bregu**, -o (**breogo**), *prince*; **heoru**, *sword*; **lagu**, *lake*; **sidu**, *custom*; **spitu**, *spit*, there are only nom. acc. sing. The words **fri(o)ðu-**, *peace*, and **li(o)ðu-**, *limb* (Goth. **fripus**, **lipus**), no longer occur as u-stems, except as the first member of compound words; otherwise there occur fem. **fri(o)ðu** (279), neut. **frið** and **lið** (239); and for Goth. **qipus**, *venter*, only masc. **cwið**. So also for Goth. **skadus**, *shadow*, OE. has the fem. **sceadu** and the neut. **scead** (Angl. **scæd**), according to 253 and 240.

NOTE 1. The nom. acc. sing. -a for -u, -o is only late. The gen. sing. subsequently has the termination -es, as in the o-declension: **wudes**, and similarly the nom. acc. plur. -as: **wudas**, **sunas**. There is a late weak plural, **sunan**, in connection with the late nom. sing. in -a.

NOTE 2. Ps. has only nom. acc. sing. **sunu**, gen. **wuda**, dat. **sunā**; R.¹ has nom. acc. sing. **sunu**, -e, gen. **sune**, -e, dat. **sunu**, -æ, plur.

nom. acc. **sunu**, -a, -æ, -as, -es, gen. **sunu**, -ena. The North. forms are: in L.: nom. acc. sing. **sunu** (more rarely -o, -a, -e), gen. **sunu**, -æ, -es, dat. **sunu**, -e, nom. acc. plur. **sunu**, -o, -a, gen. **sunu**, -o, -ana, dat. **sunum**; in R.²: nom. acc. **sunu**, -o, -a, gen. **sunu**, -o, dat. **suno**; nom. acc. plur. **sunu**, -o, gen. **sununa**, dat. **sunum**, -om; Rit. has only **sunu** as nom. gen. acc. sing. and nom. plur.

2) Long Stems

272. Words with a long stem dropped the u in the nom. acc. sing., according to **134**, and thus came into relation with the o-stems, whose inflection they then to some extent assumed. Paradigm: **feld**, *field*.

Sing. N. V. A. **feld**

G. **felda**; -es

D. I. **felda**; -e

Plur. N. V. A. **felda**; -as

G. **felda**

D. I. **feldum**

273. Traces of this declension are more frequent in the words **feld**, *field*; **ford**, *ford*; **weald**, *forest*, and the disyllabic **sumor**, *summer*; **winter**, *winter*; **æppel**(?), *apple*; they are less common in **eard**, *country*; **hād**, *person*, *rank*; **hearg**, *temple*, *idol*; **sēað**, *fountain*, and **-gār**, *spear*, in proper nouns like **Wihtgār**. The other words which formerly belonged to the u-declension have completely passed over to the o-declension: **ār**, *messenger*; **dēað**, *death*; **feorh**, *life*; **flōd**, *flood*; **scield**, *shield*; **ðorn**, *thorn*; **hungor**, *hunger*, etc. (= Goth. **airus**, **daupus**, **fairhwus**, **flōdus**, **skildus**, **þaurmus**, **hūhrus**), and the numerous verbal nouns in **-(n)oð**, **-(n)að** (= Goth. **-ōdus**).

NOTE 1. In North. there are still found the datives **dēoða**, *wonga*, and even a few examples of original o-stems, like **binna**, *manger*.

NOTE 2. The gen. sing. in -a occurs but seldom (Bede **hāda**, *Idcittfelda*, Chron. **wintrā**, **Wihtgārā**); the nom. acc. plur. seems

only to be found in the somewhat common **hearga** and **appla** (note 3). On the other hand, the dat. instr. in **-a** is still common in the older texts, but is subsequently replaced by the **-e** of the **o**-declension.

NOTE 3. **winter**, which is always of the masc. gender in the sing., so far as can be determined, takes in the nom. acc. plur. the neuter forms **wintru** and **winter**. **sæppel** inflects in the sing. wholly according to the **o**-declension, but in the plural, beside **sæp(p)las**, is more generally **ap(p)la**, with irregular vowel of the radical syllable, later also **ap(p)lu**, which is neuter, like **wintru**.

NOTE 4. A nom. acc. sing. in **-u** occurs exceptionally in the case of long stems in the older language: **ætgaru**, *spear* Ep.; **flōdu**, *flood*; **Olwfwolpu** (read **Wolf-**), in Runic inscriptions.

b) FEMININES

274. Of these there are but few remaining. Paradigms: **duru**, *door*; **hond**, *hand*. Their declension is as follows:

Sing. N. V. A.	duru	hond	Plur. N. V. A.	dura ; -u	honda
	G. dura	honda		G. dura	honda
	D. I. dura ; -u	honda		D. I. durum	hondum

Like **duru** is declined **nosu** (Old Kent. **nasu**), *nose*; like **hond** inflect **flōr**, *floor*; **cweorn**, *mill*.

NOTE 1. Rarer by-forms are gen. dat. instr. sing. **dure**, *nose*; dat. **dyru**, *dyre*, with **i**-umlaut, and gen. dat. **hond**. **flōr** has in the gen. dat. sing. also **flōre** (but acc. sing. always **flōr**), and is also used as masc. (273). **cweorn** more commonly follows the **ā**-declension: gen. dat. acc. sing. **cweorne**; there is, besides, a weak. fem. **cweorne** (278).

NOTE 2. **Ps.** has sing. acc. **duru**, plur. **dura**; of **hond**: sing. gen. dat. and plur. nom. acc. gen. **honda**, dat. **hondum**; R.¹ sing. nom. acc. dat. **dure** (also masc.), plur. nom. **duru**, dat. **durum**; of **hond**: sing. acc. **hond**, **-e**, **-æ**, **-a**, dat. **honda**, plur. nom. acc. **honde**, **-a**, dat. **hondum**.

The North. forms are:

a) of **duru** (also masc. and neut.): in L.: sing. nom. **duru**, **-a**, acc. **duru**, **-o**, **-e**, dat. **duru**, **-o**, **-a**, **-e**, plur. nom. **duro**, dat. **durum**;

in R.²: sing. nom. **dura**, acc. **dura**, -o, dat. **dura**, plur. nom. **duro**, dat. **durum**; in Rit.: sing. acc. **duru**, plur. dat. **durum**;

b) of **hond**: in L.: sing. nom. acc. **hond**, dat. **hond**, -a, -e, plur. nom. **hond**, acc. **hond**, -a, -o, gen. **honda**, -o, dat. **hondum**; in R.²: sing. nom. **hond**, -a, acc. **honda**, dat. **hond**, -a, plur. nom. acc. **hond**, -a, dat. **hondum**; in Rit.: sing. nom. acc. **hond**, dat. **honde**, plur. dat. **hondum**.

c) NEUTERS

275. There is no longer an independent u-declension of neuters in OE. The sole relic is Ps. North. **feolu**, **feolo**, and WS. **fela**, **feola**, *much* (the former a stereotyped nom. acc., the latter no doubt a stereotyped form of the other cases). Goth. **faihu**, *cattle*, is WS. Kent. **feoh**, Angl. **feh**, which has gone wholly over to the o-declension (**242**).

B. WEAK DECLENSION (n-STEMS)

276. The three genders are scarcely distinguishable except in the nom. voc. sing. (with which the neut. acc. is identical); the masc. ending is -a, the fem. -e or -u (**279**), and the neut. -e. Paradigms are: masc. **guma**, *man*; fem. **tunge**, *tongue*; neut. **ēage**, *eye*.

MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
Sing. N. V. guma	tunge	ēage
G. guman	tungan	ēagan
D. I. guman	tungan	ēagan
A. guman	tungan	ēage
Plur. N. V. A. guman	tungan	ēagan
G. gumena	tung(e)na	ēag(e)na
D. I. gumum	tungum	ēagum

NOTE 1. In certain texts -on is found for -an.

NOTE 2. WS. has but rarely gen. plur. -ana, -ona, beside -(e)na: Cura Past. **ēarana**, **welona**; Oros. -warana, **Judana**, **Gotona**; in

texts having dialectic color these forms are rather more common (cf. also note 3. c).

NOTE 3. The relation to each other of the two forms for the gen. plur., **-ena** (**-ana**, **-ona**, note 2) and **-na** (including the corresponding forms of the strong declension, 252, note 4), varies greatly:

a) In WS. prose **-ena** is normal for both short and long stems: masc. **fōnena**, **welena**, **witena**; fem. **wucena**, like masc. **cēpena**, **telgena**; fem. **biemena**, **nāðrena**; neut. **ēagena**, **ēarena**, etc.; only rarely do long stems exhibit syncope of the middle vowel: Cura Past. masc. **wilna**, fem. **tungna**, neut. **ēagna** (beside **tungena** and **ēagena**).

A constant exception to this rule is formed by the gentile names of WS. prose; these have as a rule **-ena** after a short radical syllable, and **-na** after a long: Oros. **Gotena** (**-ona**), **Judena** (**-ana**); but Oros. **-seaxna**, Chron. **-seaxna**, **Francna**, **Longbeardna**, **Miercna**, **Sumursætna**. In the later language, too, **-ena** for this **-na** is very rare.

b) The poetry follows in general this latter principle: the short radical syllables take **-ena** (**-ana**, **-ona**), the long predominantly **-na**: masc. **wilna**, **brōgna**; fem. **ārna**, **lārna**, **sorgna**, **wisna**, **wræcna**; neut. **ēagna**, **ūhtna**, beside occasional forms like masc. **dēmēna**, **wrēcena**, fem. **tungena**, neut. **ēagena**, the latter being quite as secondary as the occasional **Gēatena**, **Frēsena**, beside the regular **Frēsna**, **Francna**, etc. In the case of long syllables, **-ena** is the rule only after consonant-groups which obstruct syncope; hence the poetry has regularly, for example, masc. **wītgena**, **ēldrena**; fem. **fāmēna**.

c) Of the Anglian texts, Ps. always has **-ena** without regard to the quantity: masc. **dracena** (**dræcena**), **nomēna**, **weolena**, **wearena**, like **buccena**, **steorrena**; fem. **eorðena**, **wisena**; neut. **ēgena**, etc.; R.¹ has in the masc. rarely **-ana**, beside **-ena**: **wītgena** (beside **wītgena**), **scapēna**, **gerōfēna**; in the fem. only **-ana**: **nēdrana**, **widuwanā**, **uīperana**. In North., finally, **-ena**, **-ana**, **-ona** (rarely **-una**) vary widely; **-a** is also occasionally found, as in the strong declension.

NOTE 4. Sporadic occurrences are: for **-(e)na** LWS. also **-an**: **ēastran**, **cāgean** (from the strong fem. **cæg**, *key*); or **-enan**: **ēagenan**; and strong **-a**: **bæcistra**, **prica**, **nama**; so in the sing. strong forms like Gl. gen. **mæltanges**, Scint. **ēages**, Ben. **ēares**, Ben. dat. **ēage**.

NOTE 5. The final **-n** is discarded in North. (and for the most part in R.¹), and the vowels of final syllables are subject to considerable variation.

The masc. has in R.¹ in the nom. sing. -a, -e, -æ (-an), obl. -a, -e, -ę; -u; -an, nom. acc. plur., beside -a, -e, -u, also -an and strong -as. Of the North. texts R.² has in the nom. sing. mostly -a (occasionally -o), obl. -a, more rarely -o, -u, nom. acc. plur. -u, -o, rarely -a, -e; L. nom. sing. -a (-o, -e), gen. -es, -æs, -as, dat. acc. -a, -o (-e), plur. -o (-a, also strong -as); Rit. nom. sing. -a (-e), gen. -a, -e, -o and -es, -æs, dat. acc. sing. and nom. acc. plur. -a, -e, -o.

Still greater variation prevails in the feminine: R.¹ has nom. sing. generally -e, but also -a, obl. -e, -æ, -a, and -an, plur. -a, -e, and -an. The North. forms are: R.² sing. -a, rarely -e (but *widwe* always so); L. sing. nom. dat. acc. -a, -e, -o, gen. -es, -æs, plur. -o, -a, and strong -as; Rit. sing. nom. dat. acc. -e, -a, gen. -es, plur. -o, -a, and strong -as. Unlike the rest, *eorðu*, *earth*, has generally -u, -o in North. instead of the other vowels cited (always so in the nom. sing.; in R.¹ *eorðu* varies with *eorðe*). The feminines also frequently become neuters.

Of neuters there are: in R.¹ nom. acc. sing. *ēare* (-a), *ēge* (-an?), *wōnge*, dat. *ēge*, plur. *ēara(n)*, *ē(a)gan*, -un, *ēgu*, -e; North.: R.² nom. acc. plur. *ēaru*, -o, -a, nom. acc. sing. plur. *ēgu*, -o; L. nom. dat. acc. sing. *ēare*, plur. *ēaro*, nom. dat. acc. sing. plur. *ēgo*; Rit. nom. dat. sing. *ēare*, plur. *ēaro*, -a, and plur. *ēgo*.

On the gen. plur. see note 3. c.

1. MASCULINES

277. Like *guma* are declined a great number of words; thus, of short stems: *bōna*, *murderer*; *cofa*, *room*; *draca*, *dragon*; *fōna*, *flag*; *hōna*, *cock*; *nefa*, *nephew*; *nōma*, *name*; *sceaða*, *robber*; *sefa*, *mind*; *wela*, *riches*; *wiga*, *warrior*; *wita*, *wise man*; plur. -*waran*, *inhabitants*; of long stems: *brōga*, *terror*; *bucca*, *buck*; *cēmpa*, *warrior*; *crēda*, *creed*; *dēma*, *judge*; *gōma*, *palate*; *hunta*, *hunter*; *mōna*, *moon*; *gerēfa*, *bailiff*; *steorra*, *star*; *telga*, *twig*; *tēona*, *injury*; *witga*, *prophet*; *wræccea*, *exile*.

NOTE 1. *oxa*, *ox*, has in nom. acc. plur. *œxen*, *exen*, beside *oxan*; gen. *oxna*, dat. *oxum*, and rarely *oxnum*. The plur. tant. *hīwan*,

hīgan (North. **hīgu**), *members of a family*, forms a gen. plur. **hīna**, beside **hīgna**, **hīwna**. A late dat. plur. of **nefa**, *nephew, grandson*, is **nefenum**.

NOTE 2. **frēa**, *lord*; **gefēa**, *joy*; **ŭrēa**, *affliction*; **lēo**, *lion* (North. **lēa**, gen. **lēas**); **twēo**, *doubt* (LWS. also **twȳ** and **twȳn**, North. **tuā** and **tuīa**, cf. 156. 3); **Swēon**, *Swedes*; **gefā**, *foe*; **rā**, *roe*, systematically contract the vowel of the radical syllable with that of the derivative syllable into the diphthongs **ēa**, **ēo**, or the vowel **ā**: gen., etc., **frēan**; gen. plur. **lēona**, **gefāna**, **Swēona**, dat. **lēom**, **Swēom**, **gefām**, but also **lēoum**, etc. (110, note 1).

Of doubtful words that belong here there are, beside **flēa**, *fla*, which might also be fem., **mēo**, *sole* (plur. **mēon**); plur. ***cēon**, *gills* (Ep. **cīan**); ***scēo**, *shin-bone* (Erf. Corp. **scīa**, North. plur. L. **scīu**, R.² **scīa**, **scīæ**).

NOTE 3. The uncontracted **frīgea** occurs beside **frēa**; **ŭrēa** is oftener strong fem. (252); **lēo**, beside regular forms, has LWS. dat. plur. **lēonum**, and occasional dat. sing. **lēone** or **lēonan**.

2. FEMININES

278. The number of feminines which are declined like **tunge** is smaller than that of the weak masculines. Examples of long stems are: **bieme**, *trumpet*; **eorðe**, *folde*, **hrūse**, *earth*; **heorte**, *heart*; **sunne**, *sun*; **wīse**, *manner*; **mēowle**, *maiden*; **nædre**, *viper*; **swealwe**, *swallow*; of short stems: **bune** (**būne**?), *cup*; **ceole**, *throat*; **cliðe**, *cliffe*, **burdock**; **cwene**, *woman*; **cwice**, *quitch-grass*; **miere**, (**mīere**? cf. 218. 1), *mare*; **pi(o)se**, *pea*; of polysyllables: **wuduwe**, *widow* (156. 4), and the words in **-estre**, like **bæcestre**, *female baker*, etc.

NOTE 1. Most of the short stems borrow, at a rather early period, the nom. sing. ending **-u** from the short **ā**-stems: **cīnu**, *fissure*; **faðu**, *paternal aunt*; **hosu** (masc.(?) **hosa**), *hose*; **hracu**, *throat*; **moru**, *parsnip*; **peru**, *pear*; **spadu**, *spade*; **swl(o)pu**, *whip*; **ŭrotu**, *throat*;

wucu, *week*; yet the oldest texts still keep the older ending *-e*: **Ep. -throtæ**, **-moræ**; **Ps. hræce**; **hrace** and **faðe** are later found sporadically. Compounds, too, are wont to retain the *-e*: **locbore**, *curly-haired woman*; **nihtegale**, *nightingale*; **æsc-**, **eoforðrote** (plant-names), etc.

lufu, *love*, generally inflects like **giefu** (252) in pure WS. (so in **Cura Past.**, and exclusively in **Ælfric's Homilies**), elsewhere for the most part weak; **Ps.** has preserved an older weak nom. **lufe**.

NOTE 2. Contractions (as in 277, note 2) are exhibited by **bēo**, *bee* (**North. bīa**, **Ps. plur. bīan**); **cēo**, *chough* (**Ep. chȳæ**, **Erf. cīæ**); **pēo** (**Ps. pīe**), *gadfly*; **rēo** (**Ep. rȳhæ**, but also **rēowe** and **rēowu**), *covering*; **sēo**, *pupil*; **flā**, *arrow*; **slā**, *sloe* (**plur. slān**, beside strong **slā**); **slā**, **slēa**(?) (**Corp. slahæ**), *sley*; **tā**, *toe* (**dā?** *doe*; instances of weak inflection not found); **ṭō** (**Ep. thōhæ**), *clay*; **gen., etc., bēon**, **sēon**, **flān**, etc. **tā** has **tān** and **tāan**; **dat. plur. tāum**, and later **tānum**; **flā** perhaps only **flānum**, though this may belong to the strong masc. (238) or strong fem. (252) **flān**, which frequently occurs beside **flā**. **LWS. (Ælfric)** similarly has a weak fem. **tā**, formed from the strong masc. **tān**, *twig*. Conversely, there is found a nom. sing. **tān** for **tā**, *toe*.

NOTE 3. **ēastron**, *-un* (more rarely *-an*), *Easter*, which generally occurs as plur. tant., has an irregular ending: **gen. ēastrena**, *-ana*, also **ēastran**, and strong **ēastra**. Beside weak **ēastron** there is also an apparently strong **ēastru**, *-o*, with neuter ending; there also occurs a nom. sing. **ēastre**. In **North. nom. acc. L. ēastro**, **ēostro**, **R.² ēostru**, *-o* (**R.¹ ēastran** and **ēastra**), **gen. L. ēastres**, **ēostres**, **R.² ēastro**, **ēostro**, *-ana*, *-una*, **dat. L. ēastræ**, **ēastro**, **ēostro**, **R.² ēostrum**. In **L.** the word is neut. sing., in **R.² plur.** (**Luke 22. 15 L. ȳis ēostro**, **R.² ȳās ēostru**).

NOTE 4. Like the masculines inflect **gemæcca** (**gemaca**), *consort*; **gebēdda**, *bedfellow*; **geresta**, *widow*, and a few others, which are regarded as having common gender.

279. As respects their origin, the abstracts in *-u*, *-o*, such as **brædu**, *breadth*; **hælu**, *salvation*; **męngu**, *męnigo*, *multitude*; **strengu**, *strength*; **ieldu**, *age*, belong to the weak declension, since they correspond to Goth. weak nouns in *-ei*, like **managei**, *multitude*. They have, however, borrowed the nom. sing. ending *-u* from

the *ā*-declension, and thus rid themselves entirely of the old inflectional forms. Their declension is as follows:

Sing. N.	strēngu, -o	Plur. N. A.	strēnge, -a; -u, -o
G.	} strēnge; -u, -o	G.	strēnga
D. I.		D. I.	strēngum
A.			

NOTE 1. These abstracts are mostly indeclinable in the sing., that is, they end in -u, -o in all cases. Plurals are hardly ever found. The nom. acc. sing. has occasionally a shortened form, *yld* for *yldo*, *age* (cf. 255. 3).

NOTE 2. Here again L. and Rit. have a gen. in -es, like *ældes*, *snytres* = WS. *ieldu*, *snytru*.

NOTE 3. The older final -ī still shows itself in the constant umlaut of the radical syllable, as well as in the palatalization of preceding gutturals: *menigeo*, *strēngeo* (206. 3. b).

3. NEUTERS

280. The only word which is certainly declined like *ēage* is *ēare*, *ear*; *heorte* has become feminine.

NOTE 1. The declension of *wōnge*, *cheek*, is much disordered, as the result of confusion with forms of the synonymous *wēnge* and of *ṭunwēnge*, *temples*, both of which were originally strong neuters (248. 1): nom. acc. sing. *wōnge*, *wēnge*, and *ṭunwēnge*, *ṭunwōnge*; dat. *ṭunwēngan*; nom. acc. plur. *wōngan*, *ṭunwēngan*, beside *ṭunwōngan* and strong *ṭunwōnge*, -a; gen. *ṭunwōngena* and *wōnga*.

NOTE 2. LWS. has the sporadic gen. *ēages* and *ēares*, and dat. *ēare* (276, note 4). Doubtful is the gender of weak masc. *ūhta* or weak neut. *ūhte*, *dawn* (Goth. weak fem. *ūhtwō*), which occurs almost exclusively in the ancient formula on *ūhtan* (beside rare phrases like *ūhtna gehwylce*, *pām ilcan ūhte*).

NOTE 3. For the North. declension of *ēore* and *ēgo* see 276, note 5.

C. MINOR DECLENSIONS

1. IRREGULAR CONSONANT STEMS

a) MASCULINES AND NEUTERS

281. 1) Paradigm for the masculine: *fōt*, *foot*.

Sing. N. V. A. <i>fōt</i>	Plur. N. V. A. <i>fēt</i>
G. <i>fōtes</i>	G. <i>fōta</i>
D. <i>fēt</i>	D. I. <i>fōtum</i>
I. <i>fōte</i> , <i>fēt</i>	

Thus are declined *tōð*, *tooth*, plur. *tēð*; *møn(n)*, *man(n)*, plur. *mēn(n)*; and likewise the disyllabic *hæleð*, *hero*; *mōnað*, *month*.

NOTE 1. Besides *møn*, there is also a weak masc. *mōnna*, *manna*, declined according to 276, but occurring for the most part only in the acc. sing. In North. the acc. is generally L. *mōnno* (sporadically *mōnnu*, -e, *mōnn*); R.² *møn(n)*, less frequently *mōnno*, -e; Rit. *monno*, beside *aldormøn*; R.¹ *mōnnu*. Proper names in -*møn* seem regularly to be declined as strong (238): for example, dat. *Colemanne*, *Gearomønne*.

Like *møn* is declined the compound *wīfmøn*, *woman* (later often assimilated: *wīmman*), except that it is sometimes used as a fem.

NOTE 2. The nom. acc. plur. of *fōt*, *tōð* sometimes in later (Anglian?) texts appears as *fōtas*, *tōðas* (already once Mart. *fōtas*, Ps. *tōðas*, besides more frequent *tēð*); of *tōð*, dat. sing. North. *tōðe*, gen. plur. *tōðana*, *tōða*, beside *tōða* L. R.² has a gen. plur. *fōta*, beside *fōta*; Rit. gen. plur. *tōðana*, acc. plur. *fōta*; R.¹ dat. sing. *tōþ* and *mōn*, beside more frequent *mēn*.

NOTE 3. *ōs*, *god*, which otherwise occurs only as the first member of compounds, has a gen. plur. *ēsa*, with perplexing i-umlaut.

NOTE 4. *hæleð* and *mōnað* have a nom. acc. plur. without termination, along with *hæleðas* (*hæleðe*) and *mōn(e)ðas*; in the sing. they are regularly inflected according to the o-declension. The nom. *hæleð* is a new formation for *hæle* (cf. *ealu* under 2); this older nom. has passed over to the i-declension (263, note 4).

2) The neuters which belong here are the monosyllabic *scrūd*, *garment*, and the disyllabic *ealu*, *ale*. The former has dat. sing. *scrȳd* (LWS. *scrūd* and *scrūde*), nom. acc. plur. *scrūd*, gen. *scrūda*; the second, formerly a *t*-stem, like *hæleð* and *mōnað*, forms the gen. dat. sing. (e)*aloð*, *-að* (very late and unusual also dat. *ealoðe*; North. gen. *alðes* Rit.), gen. plur. *ealeða*, and sporadically an acc. sing. *ealað*, modeled upon the gen. dat.

b) FEMININES

282. The short stems which belong here are *hnutu*, *nut*; *studu*, *stuðu*, *column*; *hnitu*, *nit*. Paradigm: *hnutu*.

Sing. N. *hnutu*

G. *hnute*

D. I. *hnyte*

A. [*hnutu*]

Plur. N. *hnyte*

G. *hnuta*

D. I. *hnutum*

A. *hnyte*

NOTE. The acc. sing. *hnutu* is supplied according to the acc. *studu*, *stuðu*; the gen. plur. is also *hnutena* in LWS. — *studu*, *stuðu* has, besides the nom. acc. (likewise the form *fēurstud*, without ending, in the ancient North. glosses to Bede, OET. 123, for which again *fēorstuþu* appears later; likewise *durustod*, *doorpost*), also the dat. *styde* (*styðe*), *stude*, and *studa*. — *hnitu* has, beside the nom. sing., the nom. acc. plur. *hnite*.

283. The long stems have in the dat. sing. and nom. acc. plur. no inflectional endings, but exhibit *i*-umlaut wherever phonetic laws admit of it. The gen. sing. is either identical with the dat., or is formed without umlaut and with the ending *-e*, as in the *ā*-declension. Paradigm: *bōc*, *book*.

Sing. N. V. A. *bōc*

G. *bēc*; *bōce*

D. I. *bēc*

Plur. N. V. A. *bēc*

G. *bōca*

D. I. *bōcum*

284. Thus are declined *āc*, *oak*; *gāt*, *goat*; *brōc*, *trousers*; *gōs*, *goose*; *wlōh*, *fringe*; *burg*, *borough*; *dung* (?), *cavern*; *furh*, *furrow*; *sulh*, *plow*; *turf*, *turf*; *grūt*, *grout*; *lūs*, *louse*; *mūs*, *mouse*; *ṭrūh*, *trough*; *cū*, *cow*; *ēa*, *water*; *neaht*, *niht*, *night*; and the disyllabic *mægeṭ*, *mægṭ*, *maid*.

NOTE 1. There is a twofold formation of the gen. sing. in *bēc* – *bōce* (the former peculiar to the older period; Ps. *bōec*); *byr(1)g* – *burge*; *fyrh* – *fūre* (also without umlaut, *furh*); on the other hand, *āc*, *gāt*, *gōs*, *mūs* seem to have only the longer forms *āce*, *gāte*, *gōse*, *mūse*, while conversely *ṭrūh* has only *ṭryh*. The gen. sing. of *sulh* (note 3) is *sūles*, like that of the masculines.

NOTE 2. The dat. sing. occasionally appears without umlaut, especially in later texts: *āc*, *bōc*, *burg*, *furh*, *grūt*, *ṭrūh* (so also North. *bōc* L. Rit., beside *bōec* L. R.²).

NOTE 3. The words in *h* lose it before a vowel ending (**218**): *furh*, gen. *fūre*, plur. gen. *fūra*, -*ena*, dat. *fūrum*; *sulh*, gen. *sūles* (note 1), plur. gen. *sūla*, dat. *sūlum*; *ṭrūh*, dat. plur. *ṭrūm*; later also nom. acc. *sul* (*sūl* ?), dat. *syl* (*syl* ?), without *h*.

NOTE 4. *āc* as the name of the rune has nom. acc. plur. *ācas*. — *bōc* rarely also occurs as neut.; Cod. Dipl. A.D. 837 has an umlauted dat. plur. *bōecum*. — *wlōh* belongs here because of the North. plur. *wlōh* L. (gen. *wglōana* L.). — *burg* (*burug*) has in the gen., etc., *byrig*, for the old and rare *byrg*; later the word inflects also exactly like *bēn* (**269**), only without umlaut: gen. dat. sing. *burge*, nom. acc. plur. *burge*, -*a*. R.¹ has nom. acc. plur. *burgas*, North. generally R.² sing. nom. acc. *burug*, less frequently *burg* (*burig*), gen. R.² *burge*, L. *burug*, *burge*, -*a*, *byrig*; dat. L. R.² Rit. *byrig*, L. R.² *burug*, R.² *burge*, plur. nom. acc. L. *burgas*. — *dung* is conjecturally assigned here on the basis of the unique instance, dat. sing. *pære dīng*, Andr. 1272, and OHG. *tung*. — Beside *grūt* occurs also *grytt*, declined regularly according to **258. 1**. — For *ṭrūh* there occasionally occurs, even in the nom. acc. sing., the umlauted *ṭryh*. — *cū* has gen. sing. *cū*, *cūe*, *cȳ*, *cūs*, nom. acc. plur. *cȳ*, *cȳe*, gen. *cūa*, *cūna*, *cȳna*. — *ēa* has the form *īe* only very seldom in the gen. sing. (also *ēas*), more commonly in the dat. sing.; it usually inflects in the sing., and always in the plur., according to the *ā*-declension: sing. *ēa*, plur. nom. gen. acc. *ēa*, dat. *ēam*, *ēaum* (**259**, note). — *neaht*, *niht* (Angl. *næht*)

and *mægeð*, *mægð* are invariable in the whole sing. and in the nom. acc. plur., but *niht* has also a gen. dat. sing. *nihte* (*neachte*, Ps. *næhte*), and a gen. *nihtes* (also *ānes nihtes*, etc., Ps. *næhtes*), used for the most part only adverbially. In North. *næht* is sometimes masc. (gen. sing. always *næhtes* R.² L. Rit.).

NOTE 5. Here also belongs the disyllabic *mioluc* (*miolc*), *milk* (Ps. North. *mille*), which, beside dat. sing. *mioluc*, *meol(u)c*, and *meol(u)ce*, has also an apparently plural form *miolcum*.

NOTE 6. Feminine names in *-burg*, like *Eadburg*, *Wærburg*, inflect regularly according to the *ā*-declension: gen. dat. acc. *-burge*.

NOTE 7. Certain names of countries and places inflect as consonantal feminines: *Cēnt*, *Cērt*, *Ī*, *Wiht*, gen. *Wihte*, dat. acc. *Wiht*, etc. Most foreign names of places are indeclinable, and cannot be assigned to any particular gender. Uninflected forms of native names are more infrequent: *æt Exanceaster*, *æt Wynnefeld*, *æt Manneðorp*, *æt Folcstān*, etc.

2. STEMS IN -r

285. The names of relationship in *-r*: *fæder*, *father*; *brōðor*, *brother*; *mōdor*, *mother*; *dohtor*, *daughter*; *sweostor*, *swuster*, *sister* (together with the plur. tant. *gebrōðor*, *brethren*, and *gesweostor*, *sisters*), are thus inflected in WS. and Kent.:

Sing. N. V. A.	fæder	brōðor	
G.	fæder, -(e)res	brōðor	
D. I.	fæder	brēðer	
Plur. N. V. A.	fæd(e)ras	brōðor, -ðru	
G.	fæd(e)ra	brōðra	
D. I.	fæd(e)rum	brōðrum	
Sing. N. V. A.	mōdor	dohtor	sweostor
G.	mōdor	dohtor	sweostor
D. I.	mēder	dehter	sweostor
Plur. N. V. A.	(mōdru), -a	{ dohtor -tru, -tra	sweostor
G.	mōdra	dohtra	sweostra
D. I.	mōdrum	dohtrum	sweostrum

NOTE 1. Instead of **-or** is not infrequently found **-er** (but **-or** is never found for **-er** where **-er** is given above); rarely **-ar**.

NOTE 2. Syncope of **e** in the polysyllabic cases of **fæder** is peculiar to **EWS.**; later the **e** becomes regular.

NOTE 3. In **LWS.** a gen. sing. **mēder**, **dehter**, sometimes occurs, like the dat., and conversely a dat. **brōðer**, **dohter**, **-or**, without umlaut.

NOTE 4. In the other dialects the declension is as follows:

a) **Ps.** sing. nom. acc. **feder**, gen. **feadur**, dat. **feder**, plur. nom. acc. **fedras** (**feddras**), gen. **fedra** (**feddra**), dat. **feadrum** (**feodrum**, **fedrum**); **R.¹** nom. acc. **fæder**, gen. **fæder**, **fader**; **fæderes**, dat. **fæder**, plur. gen. **fædera**; **North.**: **R.²** nom. acc. **fæder**, **feder**, **fador**, gen. **fæd(e)res**, **fæder**, **fædur**, **fador**, dat. **feder**, **fæder**, **fædre**, plur. nom. acc. **fædras**, gen. **fædra**, dat. **fædrum**; **L.** nom. acc. **fæder**, **fader**, gen. **fadores** (**fædores**), **fad(e)res**, **fador**, dat. **fæder**, **-ir**, **feder**, **fader**, **federe**, plur. nom. acc. **fadoras**, **fadero**, gen. **fadora**, dat. **fad(o)rum**; **Rit.** nom. acc. **fæder** (**feder**, **fader**), gen. **fadores** (**fador**?), dat. **feder** (**fæder**), plur. gen. **fadora**, **fædera**, dat. **fædorum**. The poetry has a sporadic dat. sing. **fædere**.

b) **Ps.** nom. acc. **brōður**, dat. **brœðer**, plur. nom. acc. **brōður**, dat. **brōðrum**; **R.¹** nom. acc. gen. dat. **brōper**, plur. nom. acc. **brōper**, **brōpre**, **bræpre**, dat. **brōprum**; **North.** **R.²** nom. acc. **brōðer**, **-or**, gen. **brōðer**, dat. **brōðer**, **-or**, plur. nom. acc. **brōðer**, **-or**, **brōðro**, dat. **brōðrum**, **-om**; **L.** nom. acc. **brōðer**, gen. **brōð(e)res**, **brōðer**, dat. **brōð(e)re**, **brōðer**, **brœðre**, **brœðer**, plur. nom. acc. **brōð(e)ro**, **brōð(e)ra**, **brœðre**, **brœðer**, gen. **brōðra**, **brōðero**, dat. **brōðrum**; **Rit.** **brōðer-**, plur. nom. acc. **brōðro**, dat. **brōðrum**.

c) **Ps.** sing. nom. acc. **mōdur**, gen. **mōdur**, **mœder**; **R.¹** sing. nom. gen. dat. **mōder**; **North.**: **R.²** sing. nom. acc. **mōder**, gen. **mōder**, **-or**, **mœder**, dat. **mœder**, **mōder**, plur. acc. **mōder**; **L.** sing. nom. acc. **mōder**, gen. **mōd(e)res**, **mœderes**, **mōder**, dat. **mōder**, **mœder**, plur. acc. **mōdero**; **Rit.** sing. nom. **mōder**, dat. **mœder**.

d) **Ps.** sing. nom. acc. **dohtur**, gen. **dœhter**, plur. nom. acc. **dohtur**, gen. **dohtra**; **R.¹** sing. nom. acc. **dohter**; **North.**: **R.²** sing. nom. dat. acc. **dohter**, plur. nom. **dohter**, dat. **dohtrum**; **L.** sing. nom. acc. **dohter**, dat. **dohter**, **dœhter**, plur. nom. **dohtero**, dat. **dohterum**; **Rit.** sing. acc. **dohtor**, plur. nom. **dohtoro**.

e) **R.¹** sing. nom. **swuster**, plur. nom. **swæster**, **swuster**; **North.**: **R.²** sing. nom. acc. gen. **swester**, plur. nom. acc. **swester**, **swestro**; **L.** sing. nom. acc. **suæster**, **soæster**, gen. dat. **suæster**, plur. nom. acc. **suæster**, **suestro**, **soestro**; **Rit.** plur. dat. **soesternum**.

3. STEMS IN -nd

286. To this group belong present participles used as nouns (for the inflection of the participles themselves see 305; 306). Paradigms of the masculines: **frēond**, *friend*; **hettend**, *enemy*.

Sing. N. V. A.	frēond	hettend
G.	frēondes	hettendes
D.	frīend, frēonde	hettende
I.	frēonde	hettende
Plur. N. V. A.	frīend, frēond	hettend, -de; -das
G.	frēonda	hettendra
D. I.	frēondum	hettendum

Like **frēond** (EWS. also **frīond**; Ps. R.¹ **frēond**, North. **frēond**, **frīond** L. R.², **frīond** Rit.) are declined **fēond**, *enemy* (EWS. also **fīond**, Ps. R.¹ **fēond**, **fīond**, plur. also **fienda**, -um Ps.; North. **fīond** R.² L. Rit., L. also once **fiend**; WS. plur. **fiend**, **fēond**, gen. **fēonda**, beside the plurals **gefriend**, *mutual friends*; **gefiend**, *mutual enemies*); **gōddōnd**, *benefactor* (plur. **gōddēnd** El. 359). The disyllables, like **āgend**, *owner*; **dēmend**, *judge*; **Hælend**, **Nergend**, *Savior*; **wealdend**, *ruler*; **wīgend**, *warrior*, are all declined like **hettend**, that is, take the adj. ending in the gen. plur.

NOTE 1. In WS. prose the dat. sing. is still rather frequently **frīend**, **fiend**, etc., even in LWS., while on the other hand the poetry has only the forms **frēonde**, **fēonde** (probably Anglian; there is only one **frīonde** (L.) recorded in Ps. North.). **fēond**, *enemy*, has a dat. **fēonde**. The nom. plur. in Ps. is **frēond**, **fēond**, **fīond** (159. 5), and so occasionally in WS. texts; R.¹ has **fēondas**, **fīondas**; North. R.² **frīondas**, **frēondas**, -e; L. **frēondas**, **frīondas**, **frēondo**, and R.² L. Rit. **fīondas** (also L. **fīondes**), and so frequently in the poetry **frēondas**, **fēondas**.

NOTE 2. The commonest forms for the nom. acc. plur. of polysyllables are **hettend** and the adjective-formation **hettende**; a few soon take in the prose the ending **-das**: **wealdendas**, **luflendas**, **æfterfylgendas** already in Alfred; a few also occur in the poetry: **byrgendas**, **ehtendas**. In late texts there is occasionally found a new formation of the whole plural on the basis of the genitive: **wealdendras**, **wealdendra**, **wealdendrum**.

287. Feminines are rare, and probably, with the exception of **swelgend**, *whirlpool*, confined to the strictly scholastical literature: **lōndbūend**, *settlement*; **ṡēos wealdend**, *female ruler*; **ṡēos fēond**, *female enemy* (translating *hæc præsul, hostis*); **timbrend**, *female builder*, etc. Nothing certain can be determined respecting their declension.

NOTE. **swelgend** has a dat. acc. sing. **swelgende**, and therefore has gone completely over to the **ā**-declension; besides, it occurs later as neuter and masculine.

4. STEMS IN **-os**, **-es**

288. These correspond to the Gr. neuters in **-os**, Lat. **-us**, **-eris**. In OE. they are quite limited in number, since the most of the words which originally belonged here have entirely lost the **s** of the suffix, and have therefore passed over to other declensions, and sometimes to other genders.

NOTE 1. Here probably belong all the older neuters of the OE. **i**-declension, both the short stems, like **spere**, **sife**, **gedyre** (263. 2), and the long stems, like **flæsc**, **hæl**, **gehield**, etc. (267. a); cf. also **lēmb**, **cælf** (290, note 1); then, with change of gender, the masculines **bere**, **ēge**, **hete**, **sige** (263, note 4), and the long stems **hlāw** (**hlāw**), *barrow*; **hrāw** (**hrāw**), *corpse*; **gæst** (**gäst**), *spirit*; North. **dōg**, *day*. In these words the suffixal **s** has been lost according to 182; the vowel was retained after short stems as **i**, **e**, while it disappeared after long stems (133). The second form of the suffix, containing **o**, **a**, has left traces in certain unumlauted words, which coexist with

those that exhibit umlaut; as, for example, *gefōg*, *geheald* (267, note 1), *hlāw*, *hrāw*, *gāst* (250, note 1). Other words which no doubt belong here are *felt*, *felt*; *sæl*, *hall* (263, note 3); *helt*, *hilt* (beside *hilt*, 267. a).

NOTE 2. For by-forms in *r*, cf. 289, note 2.

The words which have preserved at least traces of the suffixal *s* fall into two classes:

289. The first class comprises those words which retain under all circumstances the suffixal *s* as *r*: *salor*, *hall*; *hocor* (?), *derision*; *stulor*, *theft*; *dōgor*, *day*; *ēagor*, *sea*; *grandor*, *crime*; *hālor*, *salvation*; *hrȳðer* (subsequently also *hrūðer*); *cattle*; *wildor* (beside *wildēor*, *wilddēor*, transformed by popular etymology), *beast*; *ēar*, *ear of corn* (from **ahur*, North. also *ēher*, *æhher*).

These words have, in the main, passed over to the *o*-declension, and hence are declined according to 238; 244; 245; yet there sometimes occurs a dat. instr. sing. without ending: *dōgor*, *hālor*, *hrōðor*, *sigor*, North. *ēher*, *æhher*, beside frequent *dōg(o)re*, *hrōðre*, etc. Plural forms are *dōgor*, *hrȳðeru*, *wildru*, *ēar* (North. *ēhera* and *ēhras*).

NOTE 1. The gender of *salor*, *hocor*, *ēagor*, *grandor*, *hālor* is not to be determined from OE. alone; yet etymology and analogy justify us in considering them as neuters; *sigor*, *victory*, that likewise belonged here, has, like *sige*, become masculine. *ēagor* and *grandor* are scarcely found save as the first element of compounds.

NOTE 2. By-forms without *r* are common (288): *sæl* — *salor*; *ēag* — *ēagor*; *hæl* — *hālor*; *hrīð* (in compounds like *hrīðhlorde*, *hrīðfald*) — *hrīðer*; North. *dæg* — *dōgor*; *sige* — *sigor* masc.

NOTE 3. The older suffixal *s* may possibly be preserved in *Hēns* in the word *Hēnsbrōc*, the name of a place, if the form corresponds to ON. *hōens*, *hens*; then, with metathesis, in *Þrūstfel*, *leprosy*, Goth. *þrūtsfill*; perhaps *hūsc*, *hūx*, *derision* (for **hūcs*), should likewise be associated with *hocor*.

290. The second class is formed by a few words which, with individual exceptions, have cast off the *r* in the singular, but retain it in the plural. Here belong especially the words *lomb*, *lamb*; *cealf*, *calf*; *æg*, *egg*. The declension is:

Sing. N. A. <i>lomb</i>	<i>cealf</i>	<i>æg</i>
G. <i>lombes</i>	<i>cealfes</i>	<i>æg-es</i>
D. I. <i>lombe</i>	<i>cealfe</i>	<i>äge</i>
Plur. N. A. <i>lomb<u>ru</u></i>	<i>cealf<u>ru</u></i>	<i>æg<u>ru</u></i>
G. <i>lomb<u>ra</u></i>	<i>cealf<u>ra</u></i>	<i>æg<u>ra</u></i>
D. I. <i>lomb<u>rum</u></i>	<i>cealf<u>rum</u></i>	<i>æg<u>rum</u></i>

NOTE 1. The sing. of these words frequently has *i*-umlaut; so always Ps. *cælf*, North. *cælf* and *celf* L., and more rarely (Rit.) *lëmb* as well as *lomb* (238, note 1; the umlaut of *æg* depends, on the other hand, on the internal *g*). Beside *lomb* there is a sing. *lombor*, and beside *æg* a longer form *æger*- in *ægerfelma*, *egg-skin*, *ægergelu*, *yolk*. In Ps. the nom. acc. plur. is also *calfur*, *lombur*, beside *calf-eru*, *lomberu* (but gen. *lombra*), North. R.² *lombor*, L. *lomb(o)ro*, *lombor*, Rit. *calfero*. In LWS. the whole plural is frequently formed without *r*; *lamb*, gen. *lamba*, dat. *lambum*, etc.; and there is even a masc. plur. *cealfas*.

NOTE 2. *cild*, *child*, is in general declined like *word* (238), and hence has plur. *cild*, etc. (North. also *cildo*); yet sometimes there occurs a plur. *cildru*, *-eru*, gen. *cildra* (the latter also in R.¹). Ælfric has, as a rule, plur. nom. acc. *cild*, gen. *cildra*, dat. *cildum*. Moreover, *cild* is now and then masc. in North., and then forms the plur. *cildas*, *-es* (beside *cildo*, gen. *cilda*, dat. *cildum*; Rit. plur. *cildo*, gen. *cildra*, *cildena*, R.² *cild*).

NOTE 3. Isolated forms belonging under this head are nom. acc. plur. *brædru*, *crumbs*, from *bræd*, *bread*; *hæmedru*, from *hæmed*, *coitus*; *lëower*, *lëwera*, from *lëow* (Cod. Dipl. *læuw*), *ham*; gen. plur. *speldra*, from *speld*, *torch* (dat. plur. *mædrum*, from **mæd*, *measure*?); North. L. *stæner*, R.² *stænere*, plur. of masc. *stæn*, *stone*; of short stems the plur. *scerero*, *-oro*, *-uru*, *shears* Ep. Erf. Corp., belonging with *scear*, *plowshare*, which is regularly declined according to 238, besides the plur. tant. *hæteru*, *garment*.

CHAPTER II. DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES

291. The Germanic adjective has a twofold declension — the strong and the weak. The latter was newly formed in Germanic, while the former originally corresponded to the adjective- and substantive-declension of the cognate languages.

Most adjectives may be declined in either way; the employment of the one or the other depends chiefly upon syntactical considerations. The weak form is generally employed after the article (337), and whenever the adjective is employed as a noun; the strong form is assigned to the predicate adjective, and to the attributive adjective when used without the article (Lichtenheld, *Das Schwache Adj. im Ags.*, ZfdA. 16. 325 ff.).

NOTE 1. Of the strong declension are all the pronouns except *self(a)* and *sē ilca* (339); the cardinal numbers from 2 upwards, so far as they are declined like adjectives (324 ff.); *ōðer*, the second (328); and a number of adjectives like *eall*, *all*; *genōg*, *enough*; *mōnig*, *many*. Of the weak declension are the comparatives, the superlatives in *-ma*, and the ordinals from 3 upward.

NOTE 2. The adjectives *won(a)*, *wanting*, and *gewuna*, *wont*, are for the most part indeclinable and restricted to predicative use; yet in a few instances they are declined as strong.

A. STRONG DECLENSION

292. The strong adjective-declension in Germanic has in many respects departed from its original form (which, as has been remarked, was identical with the

noun-declension) and become assimilated to that of the pronouns. By this means the distinctions of the three vowel-declensions, once possessed alike by adjective and noun, have been in great measure obscured. Only one vowel-declension remains clearly marked, that of the *o*-stems (with the feminines in *-ā*, as in the case of the noun, 235). As with the noun, the *jo*- and *wo*-stems form subdivisions. Of the *i*- and *u*-declensions only scanty remains have been preserved in the nom. (302 ; 303).

1. PURE *o*-STEMS

293. Here again we are called upon to distinguish between short and long stems, polysyllables and monosyllables. The discrepancies of the paradigms are conditioned by the laws concerning final sounds and syncopation. As a paradigm for the short stems we may take *hwæt*, *active* ; for the long stems, *gōd*, *good* ; for polysyllables, *hālig*, *holy*. The variations from the noun-declension are indicated in 1) and 2) by italics :

1) Short Stems

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Sing. N. V.	<i>hwæt</i>	<i>hwæt</i>	<i>hwatu, -o</i>
G.	<i>hwates</i>		<i>hwætre</i>
D.	<i>hwatum</i>		<i>hwætre</i>
A.	<i>hwætne</i>	<i>hwæt</i>	<i>hwate</i>
I.	<i>hwate</i>		—
Plur. N. V. A.	<i>hwate</i>	<i>hwatu, -o</i>	<i>hwata, -e</i>
G.		<i>hwætra</i>	
D. I.		<i>hwatum</i>	

2) Long Stems

Sing. N. V.	<i>gōd</i>	<i>gōd</i>	<i>gōd</i>
G.	<i>gōdes</i>		<i>gōdre</i>
D.	<i>gōdum</i>		<i>gōdre</i>
A.	<i>gōdne</i>	<i>gōd</i>	<i>gōde</i>
I.	<i>gōde</i>		—
Plur. N. V. A.	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōd</i>	<i>gōda, -e</i>
G.		<i>gōdra</i>	
D. I.		<i>gōdum</i>	

3) Polysyllables

Sing. N. V.	<i>hālig</i>	<i>hālig</i>	{ <i>hāligu, -o</i> ; <i>hāligu, -o</i> ; <i>hālig</i>
G.	<i>hālgēs</i>		<i>hāligre</i>
D.	<i>hālgum</i>		<i>hāligre</i>
A.	<i>hāligne</i>	<i>hālig</i>	<i>hālge</i>
I.	<i>hālge</i>		—
Plur. N. V. A.	<i>hālge</i>	{ <i>hāligu, -o</i> ; <i>hāligu, -o</i> ; <i>hālig</i>	<i>hālga, -e</i>
G.		<i>hāligra</i>	
D. I.		<i>hālgum</i>	

NOTE 1. The *-u* of the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut. of the short stems and polysyllables: *hwatu*, *hāligu*, is in general older than the *-o*: *hwato*, *hāligo*.

NOTE 2. In very old (Kent. ?) texts, the dat. sing. masc. and neut. sometimes ends in *-em*: *minem*, etc. The *-um* of the same case, and of the dat. plur. of all genders, afterwards passes into *-un*, *-on*, *-an*: *gōdan*, *hālgan*, etc. (237, note 6).

NOTE 3. In LWS. even the long stems sometimes take the ending *-u* in the nom. acc. plur. neut.; but generally the nom. acc. plur. neut. is replaced by the forms of the masc.: *hwate*, *gōde*, *hālge*, for *hwatu*, *gōd*, *hāligu*, *hālig*.

NOTE 4. The *r*-cases — the gen. dat. sing. fem. and the gen. plur. — have generally no middle vowel in EWS., even after short stems, contrary to the rule of 144. In LWS., on the other hand, *-ere*, *-era* become more and more the rule, without regard to the quantity:

sumere, sumera, like **gōdere, gōdera**, etc.; **-re, -ra** remain only in the case of polysyllables: **hālligre**, etc.

NOTE 5. In North. the gen. sing. masc. and neut. also ends in **-æs**, and the gen. dat. sing. fem. in **-ræ**; the nom. plur. has the ending **-e**, more rarely **-æ**, but very frequently (especially in Rit.) **-o**.

294. Like **hwæt** are declined the few OE. adjectives with a short stem, like **til**, *useful*; **sum**, *a certain*; **hol**, *hollow*; **dol**, *dull*; **tōm**, *tame*; **bær**, *bare*; **blæc**, *black*; **glæd**, *glad*; **hræd**, *speedy*; **læt**, *late*; **wær**, *wary*; as well as the compounds in **-sum**, *-some*, and **-lic**, *-ly*.

NOTE 1. The paradigm **hwæt** shows at the same time the modifications which the radical vowel **æ** undergoes, according to **49**; **50**. In distinction from the noun, the vowel **æ** is here actually limited, as a rule, to forms with a closed radical syllable: **hwæt** — **hwates**, in contrast with **dæg** — **dæges**, **fæt** — **fætes**, etc. Yet there are many irregularities: **stræc** (beside **strec**; or **stræc**?), *obstinate*, and **hræð**, **hræd**, *nimble*, often preserve the **æ** in an open syllable, even before a guttural vowel, as in **stræcum**; **blæc**, *black*, has usually **a** in a closed radical syllable in LWS.: **blac**, **blacne**, **blacre**, **blacra** (or **blāc**, etc.); so less frequently in the case of other adjectives.

NOTE 2. In Ps. the adjectives in **-sum** have, not **-sumu**, but **-sum** in the nom. sing. fem. (Zeuner, p. 138). In the older period, **-lec** often stands for **-lic** before a vocalic ending.

295. Like **gōd** are declined the majority of the OE. adjectives: **eald**, *old*; **hāl**, *whole*; **hēah**, *high*; **rōf**, *vigorous*; **fyrn**, *old* (originally an **i**-stem, as the umlaut shows), and many others.

NOTE 1. Words in **h**, like **ðweorh**, *transverse*; **gefearh**, *farrowing*; **sceolh**, *squinting* (only weak **scēola**); **fāh**, *hostile*; **flāh**, *deceitful*; **gemāh**, *importunate*; **hēah**, *high*; **hrēoh**, *rough*; **scēoh**, *shy*; **tōh**, *tough*; **gewlōh**, *adorned*; **wōh**, *wrong*; **rūh**, *rough*, drop the **h** in polysyllabic forms; those having a vowel before the **h** contract, for the most part, according to **110 ff.**; hence **ðweorh** — **ðwēores** (**218**; **242**; Ps. **ðwerh** according to **164. 1**, but dat. sing. **ðweorum**, weak **ðweora**, with **u-** and **o/a-**umlaut after loss of the **h**, Zeuner, p. 85),

but *wōh*, nom. sing. fem. *wō* (for **wōhu*), gen. etc. *wōs*, *wō(u)m*, *wōne*, *wō*, plur. *wōra*, *wō(u)m*, fem. *wōre*, etc. The acc. sing. of *hēah* is generally *hēanne*, more rarely *hēane*, very seldom *hēahne*, gen. dat. sing. fem. *hēarre*, gen. plur. *hēarra*, beside *hēare*, *hēahre*, and *hēara*, *hēahra* (222. 2); dat. *hēam* and *hēaum*; Angl. *hēh* (163), but dat. *hēam* from **hēhum*, acc. *hēane* (165, note 3), weak *hēa* from **hēha*, as in WS. *rūh* has gen. *rūwes*, etc. (cf. 116, note).

In LWS. forms with -g- are very general instead of the contracts: *hēages*, *hēagum*, *hēage*; *wōges*, *wōgum*, *wōge*; likewise *rūges*, etc., for *rūwes*. This is not to be regarded as grammatical change (234), but as a result of analogy from adjectives like *genōh* – *genōges*, whose *h* was derived from older *g* (214. 1).

NOTE 2. Words ending in a geminated consonant, like *grimm*, *fierce*; *still*, *quiet*; *wōnn*, *dusky*; *dimmm*, *dark*; *deall*, *proud*; *eall*, *all*, simplify the geminate (231) before any termination beginning with a consonant, and, as a rule, when final: *grim(m)*, *grimme*, *grimre*, *grimra*, but *grimmes*, *grimmum*, etc. Nevertheless, it often remains before consonants: *eallre*, *eallra*, *eallne*, etc.

296. To the polysyllables, which are declined like *hālig* (North. also *hælig*), belong especially the derivatives in -ig, like *ēadig*, *fortunate*; *fāmig*, *foamy*; *hrēmig*, *clamorous*; *mōnig*, *many a* (North. also *mēnig*); in -el, -ol, like *lȳtel*, *little*; *micel*, *large*; *yfel*, *evil*; *hnitol*, *pushing with the horns*; *sticol*, *sharp*; *sweotol*, *manifest*; in -er, -or, like *fæger*, *fæger*, *fair*; *bitler*, *bitter*, *bitter*; *snotor*, *snottor*, *wise*; in -en, like *hæðen*, *heathenish*; *gilpen*, *boastful*; besides the adjectives denoting material, like *gylden*, *golden*; *iren*, *iron*; *stānen*, *stone*; the past part. of verbs (306), and many others.

NOTE 1. The short-stemmed adjectives of this class, like *mōnig*, *micel*, *yfel*, and many past participles, like *coren*, *boren*, *slāgen*, etc., generally form the nom. sing. fem. and the nom. acc. plur. neut. without ending (sporadically with *u* in the final syllable, like Cura Past. *micul*, *large*; *hefug*, *heavy*); yet there are also forms like *mōnigu*, *yfelu*, etc. in early texts like the Cura Past., and especially in Ps., where they are commoner than those without ending.

NOTE 2. The polysyllables with the first syllable short retain the middle vowel, in all forms, whenever it is old (144): *sweotoles*, *sweotole*; but not always when it arose from syllabic *r* in the form without ending: *fægeres* and *fægres* (*fægres*?), etc. On the contrary, *micel* is always treated like a long stem, and *yfel* very frequently so; that is, they undergo syncope of the middle vowel: *micles*, *yflies*, etc. In the case of the long stems, syncope does not take place in the trisyllabic forms of the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. in the earlier period; hence only *hāligu*, *lýtlu* (beside sporadic forms with *u*, like *rēotugu*, *lachrymose*; *lýtulu*), not *hālg*; not till later do we encounter forms like *eōwru*, *hlūtru*, etc. In the other forms, having a termination beginning with a vowel, the long stems should always undergo syncope; frequently, however, the middle vowel has again forced an entrance from the unsyncopeated forms, the frequency increasing with the lateness of the period. Most irregular of all are the adjectives in *-ig* (which often appears before a vocalic ending as *-eg-*). The fewest instances of syncope occur in the past participles in *-en*.

NOTE 3. The accusative ending *-ne* is attached immediately to the adjectives in *-en*, and the endings *-re*, *-ra* to those in *-er*: *gylden**ne*, *iren**ne*; *fæg**erre*, *snot**terra*, etc. Now and then, especially in later OE., the *nn*, *rr* are simplified to *n*, *r* (231. 4). Occasionally, even in LWS., syncope of the middle vowel occurs after a long radical syllable: *ōðre*, *ōðra*, etc. (145, and note).

2. jo-STEMS

297. Stems originally short, like *mid*, *middle*; *nyt*, *useful*; *gesib*, *related* (cf. Goth. *midjls*, *gasibjls*), are declined in all respects like the pure *o*-stems ending in a geminated consonant (295, note 2): *mid*, gen. *middes*, fem. *midre*, etc.

NOTE 1. *nīwe* (*nīewe*), *new* (Goth. *niujls*), with its by-form *nēowe* (100, note 2; 159. 5), which originally belonged here, has *-e* in the nom. like the long stems, and retains its *w* even before consonants: *nīwne*, *nīwre*, *nīwra*; or *nēowne*, etc.

NOTE 2. *frīo*, *frēo*, *free*, Ps. *frēa*, stem **frīja-* (114. 2; 166, note 6), contracts the vowel of the root with that of the suffix in the

nom. sing., but originally retained the uncontracted form in the polysyllabic cases: **frīo**, gen. **frīges**, dat. **frīgum**, plur. **frīge**, etc. Yet forms modeled directly on the contract nom. are frequent (and virtually the rule in WS.): gen. dat. sing. fem. **frīore**, gen. plur. **frīora**, acc. sing. masc. **frīone**, nom. acc. plur. masc. **frīo**, etc. A nom. **frēoh**, together with (un)geblēoh, beside (un)geblēo, (*dis*)colored (from the stem *blīja-, 247, note 3), is found rather frequently in LWS., being modeled on the words in **h** (295, note 1).

298. Stems originally long take **-e** in the nom. sing. masc. and neut.; they have **-u**, **-o** in the nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. neut.; in other respects they are declined like the pure **o**-stems. Paradigm: **grēne**, *gr. n.*

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Sing. N. V.	grēne	grēne	grēnu , -o
G.	grēnes		grēnre
D.	grēnum		grēnre
A.	grēnne	grēne	grēne
I.	grēne		—
Plur. N. V. A.	grēne	grēnu , -o	grēna , -e
G.		grēnra	
D. I.		grēnum	

NOTE. Words with mute + liquid or nasal before the **e**, like **gīfre**, *greedy*; **sýfre**, *sober*; **fæcne**, *malicious*, insert a vowel before the **r**, **n** when an unlike consonant follows: **sýferne**, **fæcenra**; on the other hand, acc. sing. masc. **fæcne** for ***fæcnne**, gen. plur. **sýfra** for ***sýfrra**, etc.

Adjectives ending in **-nne**, like **gīnne**, *spacious*; **ðynne**, *thin*, do not add **n** in the acc. sing. masc.: **gīnne**, **ðynne**.

299. This declension is followed by a tolerably large number of OE. adjectives. Examples: **blīðe**, *friendly*; **brēme**, *famous*; **cēne**, *bold*; **cýme**, *comely*; **dierne**, *secret*; **drýge**, *dry*; **fæcne**, *deceitful*; **gīfre**, *greedy*; **ierre**, *angry*; **sēfte**, *soft*; **swēte**, *sweet*; **sýfre**, *sober*; then verbal adjectives like **genge**, *current*; **genæme**, *acceptable*; those in **-ede** (rarely **-ode**, OS. **-ōdi**), like **hēalede**,

herniosus; *hōcede*, *hooked*; *hoferede*, *humpbacked*; those in *-ihte* (very rarely *-iht*, LWS. also *-ihtig*), like *stānihte*, *stānihte*, *stony*; *ðyrnihte*, *thorny*; and the numerous ones in *-bære*, like *wæstmbære*, *fruitful*.

NOTE 1. A few adjectives fluctuate between this declension and that of the simple o-stems: *smolt* and *smylte*, *serene*; *strong* and *streng*, *strong*; *unlād* and *unlāde*, *wretched*. Beside *säfte*, LWS. has *sōfte*, without umlaut (by analogy with the adv. *sōfte*, 315, note 3).

NOTE 2. Not a few adjectives have been transferred to this from the i- or u-declension (302; 303).

3. wo-STEMS

300. The words with a single consonant before the w vocalize the latter when final to -u, -o (-a), and before a consonantal ending to -o. Here belong, for example: *earu*, *active*; *gearu*, *ready*; *mearu*, *tender*; *nearu*, *narrow*; *calu*, *callow*; *falū*, *fallow*; *salu*, *sallow*; *geolu*, *yellow*; *basu*, *be(o)su*, *brown*; *hasu*, *gray*, and probably *cylu* (*cylew*), *spotted*; * *medu*, in *medewa win*, *must*. They are declined as follows:

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Sing. N. V.	<i>gearu</i> , -o	<i>gearu</i> , -o	<i>gearu</i> , -o
G.	<i>gearwes</i>		<i>gearore</i>
D.	<i>gearwum</i>		<i>gearore</i>
A.	<i>gearone</i>	<i>gearu</i> , -o	<i>gearwe</i>
I.	<i>gearwe</i>		—
Plur. N. V. A.	<i>gearwe</i>	<i>gearu</i> , -o	<i>gearwa</i> , -e
G.		<i>gearora</i>	
D. I.		<i>gearwum</i>	

NOTE. A middle vowel frequently stands before the w: *gearuwe*, *gearowe*, *gearewum*, etc. LWS. frequently generalizes the w: *gearuw*, *gear(u)wne*, *gear(u)wre*, *gear(u)wra*, etc. Of sporadic occurrence are also forms like *baswere*, *basne*, *basum*, etc.

301. Words with a long vowel or diphthong before the **w** usually retain the latter in all cases, and hence conform in all respects to the declension of the simple **o**-stems. Examples: **slāw**, *slow*; **gedēaw**, *dewy*; **glēaw**, *prudent*; **hnēaw**, *miserly*; **hrēaw**, *raw*; **gesēaw**, *juicy*; **(ge)hlēow**, *sheltered*; **rēow**, *rough*; **ḡēow**, *serving* (in **ḡēow man**, **wifman**, usually declined weak); **rōw**, *gentle*.

NOTE 1. The plur. tant. **fēawe**, *few* (Goth. **fawai**), usually contracts in the poetry to **fēa**, dat. **fēam** (**fēaum**), and so in Ps. and elsewhere probably Mercian (Chad); EWS. only in the dat. plur. **fēam**, beside **fēaum**, and probably nom. acc. plur. neut. **fēa** (from ***fawum**, ***fawu**). Otherwise it is regular in WS. (and R.¹), except that it generally forms its nom. acc. as **fēawa**, following **fela** (275). The word is wanting in L. Rit. R.².

NOTE 2. The **w** is lost by contraction in **wēa**, *wretched*, if this belongs to OHG. **wewo**, etc. (118, note 1); on (un)**geblēo**, *(dis)colored*, see 297, note 2. Otherwise forms without **w** are only occasional, like acc. **rēone**, from **rēow**.

4. i-STEMS

302. Of short stems only a few relics are left: **brycē**, *fragile*; **swice**, *deceitful*; **frēme**, *strenuous*; **gemyne**, *mindful* (beside **gemun**, of the **o**-declension). They follow the declension of the originally long **jo**-stems, like **grēne** (298); that is, they retain the simple consonant in all cases, and do not insert **j** before the vowel ending. Of long stems there belong here only **fyrn**, *ancient* (hardly used except as the adverbial neuter, 'formerly'), and perhaps **lȳt**, *little*, in **lȳthwōn**, *a little*; gen. **lȳtes** in the adv. **lȳtis-nā**, **lȳtes-nā**, **lȳtestne**, *almost*.

NOTE. The other long **i**-stems, whose **i** ought properly to be dropped when there is no case-ending, have passed over to the declension of the long **jo**-stems: **brȳce**, *useful*; **swēte**, *sweet*; **blīðe**, *friendly*; **gedēfe**, *suitable*; **gemāene**, *common*; compare Goth. **brūks**, **sūts**, **bleips**, **gadōfs**, **gamains**.

5. u-STEMS

303. The only certain relics of the adjective u-declension are *wlacu*, *tepid*, beside *wlæc*, from which latter alone all the cases but the nom. sing. (and acc. sing. neut.) are formed, together with WS. *c(w)ucu*, *living* (for **cwiocu*, 71), Ps.? (only nom. plur. *cwice*) North. R.² L. *cwic* (164. 2), poetry *cwic(u)*, beside rare forms of *c(w)ucu*.

NOTE 1. The form in -u stands for the nom. sing. and plur. of all genders, for the acc. sing. fem. and acc. sing. plur. neut., and for the weak nom. sing. Otherwise nothing is found of the regular u-declension but the acc. sing. masc. *cucune*, -one, also *cucunne*, *cuconne* (231, note 3), and further *c(w)ucene*, *c(w)ucenne*, also *cwicen(n)e*. All the other forms, and so frequently the acc. sing. masc., are formed as if from a nom. *c(w)uc* or *cwic*; in pure WS. the forms with inner u greatly predominate.

NOTE 2. The long u-stems have mostly gone over to the o- or jo-declension: compare, for example, OE. *heard*, *hard*; *glēaw*, *sagacious*, with Goth. *hardus*, *glaggwus*; *egle*, *troublesome*; *hnesc* (North. L. *hnesc*, R.² plur. *hnisca*, but R.¹ *næscum*), *soft*; *twelfwintre*, *twelve years old*, with Goth. *aglus*, *hnasqus*, and *twalibwintrus*. Occasionally doublets are found: *smōð*, *smooth*; *strōng*, *strong*; *gnēað*, *miserly*, beside *smēðe*, *strēnge*, *ungnȳðe* (299, note 1).

B. WEAK DECLENSION

304. The weak declension of adjectives is the same as that of nouns, except that the gen. plur. is almost always replaced by the strong form -ra. Paradigm: *gōda*, *the good*.

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Sing. N. V.	<i>gōda</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōde</i>
G.		<i>gōdan</i>	
D. I.		<i>gōdan</i>	
A.	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōdan</i>
Plur. N. V. A.		<i>gōdan</i>	
G.		<i>gōdra</i> , (-ena)	
D. I.		<i>gōdum</i>	

NOTE 1. LWS. occasionally has a nom. sing. masc. in **-an**, as in **sē forman dæg, sē tēoðan dæl**.

NOTE 2. A gen. plur. in **-ena** (also rarely **-ana, -na**), like **gōdena**, etc., perhaps belongs only to scholarly translations like the Cura Past. There are also sporadic moves toward formations in **-an** (modeled after the other cases in **-an**) or **-a** (after the noun-declension). Very rarely do we find in the charters contaminated forms, like **hälligrana, hälligran**.

NOTE 3. The dat. plur. **-an** frequently occurs at an early period (thus predominantly in the Cura Past.) instead of **-um**: **gōdan, læssan**, etc., in advance of its appearance in the dat. of strong adjectives and the dat. plur. of nouns (237, note 6; 293, note 2). This is no doubt to be attributed to the influence of the other cases in **-an**.

NOTE 4. In a few words contraction takes place: **hēa**, gen. **hēan**, from **hēoh**; dat. sing. **hrēon**, from **hrēoh**; **wō**, **wōn**, from **wōh**, etc. (295, note 1).

NOTE 5. The discrepancies of North. are essentially the same as those in the weak declension of nouns (276, note 5).

C. DECLENSION OF PARTICIPLES

305. The present participle has adopted in full the jo-declension of adjectives, and may also be inflected as weak. Paradigm of the strong declension: **giefende, giving**.

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Sing. N. V.	giefende	giefende	giefendu, -o
G.	giefendes		giefendre
D.	giefendum		giefendre
A.	giefendne	giefende	giefende
I.	giefende		—
Plur. N. V. A.	giefende	giefendu, -o	giefenda, -e
G.		giefendra	
D. I.		giefendum	

NOTE 1. When used predicatively, the pres. participle is apt to be uninflected: **giefende**, for **giefendu, giefendne** (no other cases than nom. acc. in question).

NOTE 2. For the declension of the present participle when used as a noun see 286; 287.

306. The past participle, like a regular adjective, has both strong and weak declension. Paradigms: the participles of *hātan*, *call*; *ácēosan*, *elect*; *neġrian*, *save*.

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Strong	<i>hāten</i>	<i>hāten</i>	<i>hātenu</i>
	<i>ácoren</i>	<i>ácoren</i>	<i>ácoren(u)</i>
	<i>genereð</i>	<i>genereð</i>	<i>genereð(u)</i>
Weak	<i>ácorena</i>	<i>ácorene</i>	<i>ácorene</i>
	<i>genereða</i>	<i>genereðe</i>	<i>genereðe</i>

NOTE 1. The nom. sing. fem. and nom. acc. plur. in *-u* are rare, and are almost entirely confined to attributive use, even in the case of long stems (296, and note 1). In the predicative position the uninflected form is mostly employed: *hāten*, *ácoren*, *genereð*.

NOTE 2. With regard to syncope of vowels at the end of a syllable in polysyllabic forms see 296 (cf. also 402; 406).

D. COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES

1. COMPARATIVE

307. The OE. comparative has but one ending, *-ra*, corresponding both to the Goth. *-iza* and the Goth. *-ōza*.

This termination is usually attached to the positive, without any modification of the latter by *i*-umlaut: *earn*, *poor* — *earnra*; *heard*, *hard* — *heardra*; *glæd*, *glad* — *glædra*; *fæger*, *fair* — *fægerra*; *gearo*, *ready* — *gearora* (EWS. likewise *gearra*, later also *gearuwra*, cf. 300, note). Only a few form the comparative with *i*-umlaut, like *eald*, *old* — *ieldra*; *grēat*, *great* — *grietra*; *geong*, *young* — *gingra* (Ps. *gingra*, beside *iungra*, *gungra*, North. R.² *gingra*, beside L. *giungra*; cf. also 157, note 1); *sceort*, *short* — *scyrtra*; *brād*, *broad* — *brædra*, beside the usual *brādra*; *hēah*, *high* — *hierra*,

hýrra (222. 2), beside **hiehra** and **hēahra** (Late Kent. also **hēgra**), Ps. R.² L. **hēra**, Rit. **hērra**.

308. The comparatives are declined like weak adjectives (304).

NOTE. Now and then there occur compounds with comparison of both elements: **lenglifra**, from **lōnglīfe**, *long-lived*; **māfealdra**, from **mōnigfeald**, *manifold* (on **leng-** and **mā-** see 323; compare also Scint. **lengtogran**, *prolixiora*, and the poetic **mācræftigra**, beside **mācræftig**).

2. SUPERLATIVE

309. The shortest form of the superlative ends in **-ōst** (beside **-ust**, **-ast**), more rarely in **-est**: **lēof**, *dear* — **lēofost**; **heard**, *hard* — **heardost**; **hwæt**, *sharp* — **hwatost**; **rīce**, *rich* — **rīc(e)ost**; but **strōng**, *strong*, **strēnge**, *strong* — **strēngest**.

310. The superlative, like the comparative (307), but seldom takes i-umlaut: **eald** — **ieldest**; **lōng** — **lēngest**; **strōng** — **strēngest** (Ps. also **strōngest**); **geong** — **gingest** (Ps. **gungesta**, L. **gingesta**, beside **giungesta**), **sceort** — **scyrttest**; **hēah** has **hiechst**, **hýhst**, beside **hēahest**, **hēahst**, and **hēhst**, 108. 2 (Ps. R.² L. Rit. **hēsta**, L. Rit. **heista**, L. also **heigsta**, **heeist** (166. 6), EWS. sporadically also **higest**, Kent. **hēgest**).

NOTE. These superlatives with umlaut have also a by-form in **-ust**, **-ost**: **lēngust**, or occasionally later shortening to **-st**: **gingst**, **yltst**.

311. With regard to the inflection, the strong declension of superlatives is almost entirely confined to that shorter form in **-ost**, **-est** which stands for the nom.

voc. sing. and acc. sing. neut. With this exception, strong forms are rare. The superlative usually follows the weak declension.

The umlaut-forms have either the termination **-esta**: **ieldesta**, **lēngesta**, **gingesta** (syncope also in LWS.: **yldsta**, **lēngsta**, **gingsta**, **strēngsta**); rarely **-osta**, **-usta**, as in **sēlostā** (312), **āerusta** (313), or shortened from the very first to **-sta**: **hiehsta**, **hȳhsta**; **nīehsta**, **nȳhsta** (for **hēahsta**, **hēhsta**, etc. see 108. 2). Even those without umlaut, ending in **-ost**, like **heardost**, **lēofost**, very frequently change the **o** of this ending into **e**, as soon as the word receives an additional syllable: **heardesta**, **lēofesta**, beside **heardosta**, **lēofosta** (129).

3. IRREGULAR COMPARISON

312. In a few adjectives the lack of a regular comparative or superlative is supplied by forms from a different root, to which there is no corresponding positive:

gōd , <i>good</i>	comp. bet(e)ra , bettra	sup. bet(e)st , infl. betsta
—	“ sēlla , sēlra	“ { sēlest , -ost , sēlesta (-osta)
yfel , <i>bad</i>	“ wiersa	“ wierrest(a) , wiersta
micel , <i>great</i>	“ māra	“ māest(a)
lȳtel , <i>small</i>	“ lāssa	“ lāest(a)

NOTE 1. Beside **betest**, **betst** (the latter the commonest form in WS. prose), **betost** also occurs (310, note). For **wiersa** R.¹ North. have **wyrsa**, for **wierresta** Ps. R.¹ North. **wyrresta** (156. 4). The neuter noun **mā**, Ps. R.¹ **māē**, L. **maa**, **māē**, belongs with **māra**, and in like manner **sēl** (older and in L. **sōl**) with **sēlla**, **sēlra** (older **sōlra**), *better*. North. has **māst(a)**, for **māest(a)**. Instead of **lāest**, **-a**, the only form common in WS. prose, R.¹ North. R.² L. have **lāessest**, **-a**, and this is also found in the poetry (L. has also **lāasest** (Rit. only **lāsest**), as in the comp. L. Rit. **lāassa**, beside Ps. R.² L. Rit. **lāessa**,

R.¹ *lēssa*). The Kentish Laws have one instance of an ancient form, *læresta*, with grammatical change. .

NOTE 2. Probably *ēlra*, *the other*; *ēlcra*, *the latter*, are isolated comparative forms.

313. In a number of cases the comparative and superlative are formed from an adverb or preposition, in default of a corresponding positive :

<i>feor</i> , far	comp. <i>fierra</i>	sup. <i>fierrest(a)</i>
<i>nēah</i> , near	“ <i>nēarra</i>	“ <i>niehst(a)</i> , <i>nȳhst(a)</i>
<i>ǣr</i> , earlier	“ <i>ǣrra</i>	“ <i>ǣrest(a)</i>
<i>fore</i> , before	“ <i>furðra</i>	“ <i>fyrest(a)</i> , <i>the first</i>

NOTE. *feor* is sometimes an adj. in poetry; the Glosses have one example of *nēagum* as an adj. in the dative, from *nēah*. On LWS. *nēahst(a)*, *nēhst(a)*, *nēxt(a)* see 108. 2; on Ps. North. *nēsta* (L. also *neista*) see 166. 6 (but R.¹ *nēhsta*, *nēxta*, *nēhsta*, *nīhsta*).

314. From a few words there is formed a superlative with an *m*-suffix. This is preserved in its simplest form only in *forma*, *the first*; *meduma*, *the midmost*; and *hindema*, *the hindmost*; the others have added the regular superlative ending *-est*, and consequently end in *-mest*. These formations, like the preceding, are in some cases derived from adverbs and prepositions :

(<i>sīð</i> , late)	comp. <i>sīðra</i>	sup. <i>sīðemest</i> , <i>sīðest</i>
(<i>læt</i> , late)	“ <i>lættra</i>	“ <i>lætmemest</i>
(<i>inne</i> , within)	“ <i>innerra</i>	“ <i>innemest</i>
(<i>ūte</i> , without)	“ <i>ūterra</i> , <i>ȳterra</i>	“ <i>ūt(e)mest</i> , <i>ȳt(e)mest</i>
(<i>ufan</i> , from above)	“ <i>yferra</i> , <i>uferra</i>	“ <i>yfemest</i> , <i>ufemest</i> , <i>ȳmest</i>
(<i>nioðan</i> , from below)	“ <i>niðerra</i>	“ <i>niðemest</i> , <i>nioðemest</i>
(<i>fore</i> , before)	“ <i>furðra</i>	“ <i>forma</i> , <i>fyrrest</i>
(<i>æfter</i> , after)	“ <i>æfterra</i>	“ <i>æftemest</i>
(<i>mid</i> , mid)	“ —	“ <i>midmest</i>
(<i>norð</i> , northward)	“ <i>norðerra</i> , <i>nyrðra</i>	“ <i>norðmest</i>
(<i>sūð</i> , southward)	“ <i>sūðerra</i> , <i>sȳðerra</i>	“ <i>sūðmest</i>
(<i>ēast</i> , eastward)	“ <i>ēasterra</i>	“ <i>ēastmest</i>
(<i>west</i> , westward)	“ <i>westerra</i>	“ <i>westmest</i>

NOTE 1. Beside the comparatives in *-erra* there frequently appear forms with simple *r*: *innera*, *ūtera*, *ufera*, *niðera*, etc., and shortened forms in *-ra* after a long radical syllable: *innra*, *ūt(t)ra* (*yttra*), *æftra*, *norðra*, etc. (145, note; 231. 4).

NOTE 2. Instead of the superlative ending *-mest* (for *-myst* cf. 44, note 2), the later language often has *-mæst* (rarely *-mast*), which seems to indicate analogy with the superlative *mæst*.

NOTE 3. *ymest* probably has no etymological relation with *yfemest*, but is to be equated with Goth. *auhmists*.

APPENDIX

FORMATION OF ADVERBS

315. Adjectival adverbs have the ending *-e*: *heard*, *hard* — *hearde*; *sōð*, *true* — *sōðe*; *nearo*, *narrow* — *nearwe*; *sweptul*, *manifest* — *sweotule*; *hlūtor*, *clear* — *hlūtre*; *wīd*, *wide* — *wīde*. If the adjective itself ends in *-e*, the adverb is identical with it: *clāene*, *clean*; *gedēfe*, *suitably*.

NOTE 1. Thus also a few adverbs in *-e*, to which there are no corresponding adjectives: *ædre*, *promptly*; *sōme*, *likewise*; *snēome*, *quickly*.

NOTE 2. The adverbs of the short-stemmed adjectives with *æ* (294) fluctuate between *a* and *æ*: (*h*)*raðe* and (*h*)*ræðe*, *quickly*; *smale* and *smæle*, *finely*?

NOTE 3. From *sēfte*, *soft*; *swēte*, *sweet*; *myrge*, *merry*; *enge*, *narrow*, the adverbs are *sōfte*, *swōte*, *murge*, *onge* (*sad*), without umlaut (once archaic *clāne*, from *clāene*, *pure*); so *smoltlice* (316), from *smylte*, *serene*; on the other hand, *hædre*, from *hādor*, *bright*. The adverb corresponding to *gōd* is *wel*.

316. For and beside this formation there is also a form compounded with *-lice*, *-lice*: *hearde* and *heardlice*;

sōðe and **sōðlice**; **sweotule** and **sweotullice**. This mode of formation subsequently increases more and more.

317. A few adverbs, in part without corresponding adjectives, end in **-a**: **fela**, *very*; **gēara**, *formerly*; **gīena**, *again*; **geostra**, *yesterday*; **gīeta** (also **giet**), *yet*; **singāla** (also **singāle** and **singāles**), *always*; **sōna**, *soon*; **tela**, *properly*; the numeral adverbs **tuwa**, **ðriwa** (331); and North. **eðða**, **oðða**, for which elsewhere **oððe** occurs. Whether **-hwega** (344) belongs here is doubtful.

318. Adverbs are formed from adjectives, and more rarely from other words, by means of the terminations **-unga**, **-inga**, **-enga**. Examples: **dearnunga**, *secretly*; **eallunga**, *entirely*; **ēawunga**, *publicly*; **eorringa**, **ier-ringa**, *angrily*; **hōlinga**, *secretly*; **wēninga**, *perhaps*. Along with these are formations with **-lunga**, etc.: **grundlunga**, **-linga**, *completely*; **unmyndlunga**, *unexpectedly*, etc.

NOTE. The three endings frequently interchange with one another in the same word, without causing any modification of the radical syllable. The greater number exhibit **u**-umlaut of the stem-vowel, where that is possible; **i**-umlaut of the radical syllable is rare, unless the basic word already had the umlaut: **æninga**, beside **ānunga**, **āninga**, *entirely*; **semninga**, beside **sōmninga**, *suddenly*.

319. The case-forms of adjectives are sometimes employed as adverbs. Accusative adverbs of this sort are: **lȳtel**, **lȳt**, *little*; **genōg**, *enough*; **fyrn**, **gefyrn**, *formerly*; **full**, *fully*; **hēah** (late also **hēage**, 295), *high*; **ungemet** (beside dat. **ungemete** and gen. **ungemetes**), *extraordinarily*; and those in **-weard**, like **upweard**,

sūðweard. Among genitives are: *ealles, altogether*; *nealles (nalles, nalas, nalæs, nals), not at all*; *elles, otherwise*; *micles, very*; *simbles, singāles, always*; *samtēnges, together*; *gēarlanges, a year long*; *dæglanges, all day long*; *nihtlanges, all night long*; *ungewisses, unconsciously*; *wēas (?) , by chance*; *endemes (later endemest), equally*; *lȳtes- in lȳtesnā (EWS. lȳtisanā, LWS. lȳtestne), almost*; the pronominal *hwæt-huguningas, somewhat*, etc. (344, note 2); several in *-weardes, -wards*, like *upweardes, sūðweardes*; others with a prepositional prefix like *tōgegnes, against*; *tōmiddes, in the midst*. Datives comprise such as *miclum, very*; *lȳtlum, little*.

320. Of nouns, it is especially the gen. in *-es* (even of feminines), the instr. sing., and the dat. instr. plur., that are employed as adverbs: the genitive, for example, in *dæges, by day*; *nihtes, by night*; *idæges*, and LWS. *pȳdæges, the same day*; *(un)ðonces, (un)willingly*; *Godes ðances, thank God*; *willes, selfwilles, unwilles, (un)willingly*; *gewealdes, of one's own power*; *ungewealdes, unwillingly* (these also compounded with adjectives and pronouns); *nēades, nīedes, needs*; *ōðres healfes, on the other side*; *instæpes* (beside dat. *instæpe*), *immediately*; and in certain phrases with prepositions and adverbs: *tō æfenes, in the evening*; *tō nōnes, at noon*; *tō ūhtes, at dawn*; *tō geflites, emulously*; *tō mēdes, as reward*; *tō gifes, gratis*; *hū gerādes, how*; *gehū elles, how else*; *hū gēares, at what time of year*; gen. plur.: *hū meta, how*; *hū nyta, wherefore*; *hūru ðinga, especially*; *ænge ðinga, anyhow*;

nāenge, **nāne ōinga**, *not at all*; **ārest ōinga**, *first of all*; **āene siōa**, *once*, etc. (331). The instrumental occurs, for example, in **fācne**, *very*; **sāre** (earlier **sāere**, with i-umlaut, 237, note 2), *sorely*. The dat. plur. occurs especially in forms ending in **-māelum**: **dropmāelum**, *drop by drop*; **stundmāelum**, *now and then*.

NOTE. Other irregular adverbial phrases, formed of nouns and prepositions, are here omitted.

321. Adverbs of place denote rest in, motion towards, and motion from a place. The most important are the following:

WHERE?	WHITHER?	WHENCE?
ōār , <i>there</i>	ōider	ōṇan
hwār , <i>where</i>	hwider	hwṇan
hēr , <i>here</i>	hider	hionan ; hine
inne , <i>within</i>	in(n)	innan
ūte , <i>without</i>	ūt	ūtan
uppe , <i>up</i>	up(p)	uppan , ufan
—, <i>below</i>	niōor	nioḍan
—, <i>before</i>	forō	foran
—, <i>behind</i>	hinder	hindan
—, <i>east</i>	ēast	ēastan
—, <i>west</i>	west	westan
—, <i>north</i>	norō	norḍan
—, <i>south</i>	sūō	sūḍan
feor(r) , <i>far</i>	feor(r)	feorran
nēah , <i>near</i>	nēar	nēan

The missing adverbs of rest are replaced by prepositional compounds like **be-nioḍan**, **be-foran**, **be ēastan**, **on innan**, etc.

NOTE 1. Beside the adverbs in **-an**, there are those in **-on**, and, in longer form, **-ane**, **-one**: **ufon**, **ufane**, etc. (in the case of this adverb also **ufenan**). In North. these adverbs lose the final **n**: **ōṇa**, **hwṇa**, **uḥa**, etc.

NOTE 2. For *ðær*, *hwær*, LWS. has *pār*, *hwār*. From *hwær* are also formed *gehwær*; *æghwær*, *āghwær*; (*ge*)*welhwær*, *welgehwær*, *everywhere*; *āhwær*, *ðhwær*, *anywhere*; *nāhwær*, *nōhwær*, *nowhere*, with their by-forms *āwēr*, *ōwēr*, etc. (43, note 4; 57, note 2; 222. 2; later also *āwār*, etc.). Similar compounds of *hwider* and *hwōnan* are *æghwider*, *æghwōnan* and *ðhwōnan* (North. *ōuana*), etc. Emphatic by-forms of *ðær* and *hwær* are *ðāra* (*ðara*?) and *hwāra* (*hwara*?), in *hwæthwāra*, *little by little*.

NOTE 3. Beside *ðider* there is an archaic form *ðæder*, and beside *hider* also *hidere*. Of similar formation is *ofere*, *from above*. *Hither and thither* is designated by *hider* (ond, ne) *ðider*, beside *hidres* *ðædres* (*ðidres*, sporadically *hider* *ðideres*), with the genitive ending; for *here* and *there*, *hidenofer* and *geonofer*.

The comparative of such an adverb of place is found only as an exception: *hideror oððe gýt beheonon*, as a translation of Lat. *citerius*.

COMPARISON OF ADVERBS

322. As a rule, no adverbs admit of comparison except those derived from adjectives, their comparative and superlative being identical with those in *-or*, *-ost* of the corresponding adjectives: *heardor* — *heardost*; *strongor* — *strongost*; *lēofficor* — *lēofficost*.

NOTE. *seldan*, *seldom*, has comp. *seldor* and *seldnor*; sup. *seldost*.

323. A few adverbs have as a comparative a peculiar monosyllabic form, without any special comparative ending, but generally distinguished from the positive by *i*-umlaut. These are: *bēt*, *better*; *wiers*, *wyrs*, *worse*; *mā*, *māe*, *more*; *læs*, *less*; *æ̅r*, *earlier*; *sīð*, *later*; *fierr*, *farther*; *lēng*, *longer*; *sēl* (early and North. *sōel*), *better*; *sēft*, *softer*; *ieð*, *easier*; *tylg*, *more willingly*; *end*, *before* (?); exceptionally occurs also *nȳr*, *nearer*, beside regular *nēar*. To some of these no corresponding positives are found.

NOTE. These adverbs correspond to the Goth. adverbs in *-is*, *-s*, like *batis*, *seips*; the ending *-is*, *-s*, is lost, according to 133; 142.

CHAPTER III. NUMERALS

1. CARDINALS

324. The first three numerals are declinable in all cases and genders.

1. *ān* is declined like a strong adjective, according to the paradigm *gōd* (293. 2), but usually takes in the acc. sing. masc. the form *æne* (from **ānina*, **ainina*, compare ON. *mīnlō* on the runic stone of Strand; the shortening of the vowel in *æne*, from *āne*, is proved by the spelling *enne* Ps. R.¹ R.² L. Rit.; but also *æne* R.¹ and more rarely L.), beside later *āne*; the instr. has *āne* (so also Ps. Rit.), beside later *āne* (so also R.² L.).

Plural forms are found with the meaning *only*, and in the phrase *āna gehwylc*, *each one*; *āna*, declined as weak, signifies *alone*.

2.	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
N. A.	<i>twēgen</i>	<i>tū, twā</i>	<i>twā</i>
G.		<i>twēg(e)a, twēgra</i>	
D.		<i>twām, twām</i>	

NOTE 1. *So* is declined *bēgen*, *both*: fem. *bā*, neut. *bū*, gen. *bēg(r)a*, dat. *bēm, bām*. The monosyllabic forms of these two words are often used conjointly: masc. fem. *bā twā*, neut. *bū tū* (also *būt-wu, būta*), dat. *bām twām*.

For *twēgen* occurs Kent. *twōegen*; Ps. has *twēgen*, neut. *tū*, gen. *twōega*; R.¹ *twāegen, twēge(n), twā*, neut. *tū, twā*, gen. *twēgra*, dat. *twām*; North. R.² *twōege, twōge (tū ?)*, fem. *twā*, neut. *tuu, twā, tuō, twōg*, gen. *twōegra*, dat. *twām*; L. *twōege, -o (tuēge, tuōge)*, *tuōeg, tuēg, twōe, tuē, tuu*, gen. *tuōege, tuōegera (-ara ?)*, *tuōera*, dat. *twām (tuōem)*, Rit. *twōegl, -o; tuu*, gen. *twōegra*.

bēgen has *ōe* when early and in North.: *bōge* R.² L. (beside *bōgo* L., but *bēgen* and *bā* R.²; fem. *bā* Rit., neut. *bū* R.¹), gen. *bōga* Cod. Dipl., dat. *bōem* (beside *bēm*) Cod. Dipl. (North. *bām* L.).

For *bēgen* sometimes occurs later the spelling *beggen*, which seems to indicate shortening of the *ē*.

3.	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
N. A.	ǫrī, ǫrie, (ǫrȳ)	ǫrīo, ǫrēo	ǫrīo, ǫrēo
G.		ǫrīora, ǫrēora	
D.		ǫrīm (ǫrīm)	

NOTE 2. The length of the ī in ǫrīm is established by the fact of gemination only as respects North. (L.); later texts have also **þrym**, **þreom**.

Ps. has only (nom.) acc. masc. ǫrēo, R.¹ þrēo, dat. þrim; North. R.² ǫrīo, ǫrīa, dat. ǫrīm; L. ǫrīo (ǫrīu), ǫrēo, ǫrēa, gen. ǫrēa, ǫrēana, dat. ǫrīm (ǫrīm?), ǫrīm; Rit. ǫrīo, ǫrēo, ǫrīa, ǫrīga, gen. ǫrēa.

325. The numbers from 4 to 19, when attributively used, are not generally inflected (numerous exceptions in North.). They are :

4. **fēower**, LWS. sporadically **fēowor**, -ur; Kent. **fīower** Mart.; Merc. Ps. R.¹ **fēower**-; North. R.² **fēower**, L. **fē(o)wer**, **fē(o)uer**, **fēuor**, -oer, **fēwr**, **fēor** (and **fēar**-, in **fēarfald**, *fourfold*), Rit. **fover**, beside **fēo(v)rtig**, *forty*; add LWS. **fyðer**-, Ps. **feoður**-, R.² L. **feoðor**-, in compounds like **fyðerfōte**, *fourfooted*, etc.

5. **fif**, uniform, with examples also in Merc. North.: R.¹ R.² L. Rit.

6. **slex**, later **six**, **syx**, and also **seox**, **seax**; Old Kent. **slox**-, beside **sex** Cod. Dipl.; Merc. North. **sex** R.¹ R.² L. Rit.

7. **slofon**, -an, WS. **seofon**, -an, later also **syfon**, -an, -en (**sufon**); EWS. **sibun**- Corp., **sifun**- Ep.; Merc. Ps. **seofen**, R.¹ **seofun**, **slofun**; North. R.² **slofu**, -o, L. **seofu**, -a (sporadically **seofon**, **sefo**); see also under 70.

8. **eahta**, LWS. **ehta** (108. 2); Merc. **æhta**, in Ps. **hundæhtatig**; North. R.² **æhtowe** (compare **ehtuwe** Rid.), L. **æhto**, -u (**cahtu**), **æhtou**, **æhtuu**, Rit. **æhta**, -o; see also under 80.

9. **nigon**, -an, also **nigen** (in a charter of about 840); later also **nigun**, **nygon**, -an, sporadically **neogan**; Merc. R.¹ **nigon**, North. infl. R.² **nīone**, L. **nigona**, -e; see also under 90.

10. **tien**, WS. **tȳn**, and less pure WS. also **tēn**; Kent. Merc. **tēn** Cod. Dipl. Ps. R.¹; North. R.² **tēn**, **tēo**, **tēa**; L. Rit. **tēa**; see also under 100.

11. **en(d)lefan** EWS. (Or.), WS. **endleofan**, also **-lefan**, **-lifan**, **-lyfan**, **-lufan**, also with final **-un**, **-on**, or beginning with **æn**-, **ænd**-; Merc. R.¹ **enlefan**; North. R.² infl. **æellefne**, L. **æellef**.

12. *twelf*, Old Kent. *twelf*, *tuelf* Cod. Dipl.; Merc. R.¹ *twælf*, *twelf*; North. R.¹ *twelf*, L. *tuelf*, *tuelf*, Rit. *tvœlf*.

13. **ŋriotiēne*, WS. *ŋrēotýne*, -*tēne*, also *ŋreottýne*, etc. (230, note), late sporadic *þryttēne*; no instances in Kent. Angl.

14-19. *fēower-*, *fif-*, *slex-*, *slofon-*, *eahta-*, *nigontīene*, -*týne*, -*tēne*, etc. following the various forms for the simple numbers 4-9.

If these numbers stand by themselves, they inflect according to the *i*-declension: for example, nom. acc. *fife*, neut. *fifu*, -*o*, gen. *fifa*, dat. *fifum* (dat. *eahtum* Bede).

NOTE. In Ps. such forms do not occur; R.¹ *fife*, *tēne*, *twelfe*, *fēowertēne*, gen. *slofuna*; North. R.² *fife*, *slofune*, -*unæ*, -*one*, *æhtowe*, *nione*, *tēne*, *ællefne*, *twelfe*, *fiftēne*, beside *sexu*, -*o*, *tēnu*, -*o*, dat. *æhtowum*, *ællefnum*, *twelfum*; L. *fēwere*, *nigone*, *tēne*, beside *seofona*, -*ana*, *nigona* and *fē(o)wero* (*fēuero*), *fifo*, *seofono*, *tēno* (-*u*), *tuelfo* (*twelfo*, etc.), *fēowertēno*, gen. *twœlfa* (*tuelfa*), dat. *fēowrum*, *fifum*, *seofanum* (*seofonum*, *seofum*), *tēnum* (*tēum*, *tēwum*), *ællefnum*, -*om*, *twœlfum* (*twelfum*, etc.), *fiftēnum*; Rit. *fēoero*, *fifo*, *tēno*.

326. The even tens from 20 to 60 are formed by joining the syllable -*tig* (= Goth. *tigus*, *decade*) to the corresponding unit; those from 70 to 120 in the same manner, but with *hund* prefixed (though it is occasionally lost). They are:

20. *twēntig* or *twentig*; North. R.² *twœgentig*, L. *tuēntig*, *tuēntig*.

30. *ŋritig*, later often *ŋrittig*; Merc. R. *ŋritig*, *ŋrittig*; North. R.² *ŋritig*, L. *ŋrittig*, -*h*, *ŋrit(e)lh*, Rit. *ŋrittig*.

40. *fēowertig*, so also Merc. Ps. R.¹ and North. R.²; L. *fēortig*, -*h*, *fēuortig*, *foertig*, *fēowertig*, Rit. *fēortig*, *fēovrtig*.

50. *fiftig*; so also R.² Rit.; L. *fift(e)ig*, -*t(e)lh*.

60. *slextig*, later *sixtig*, *syxtig*, and less pure WS. also *sextig*; Merc. North. R.¹ R.² *sextig*, L. *sext(e)ig*, -*tih*, -*dig*, -*deih*.

70. *hundslofontig*, -*antig*, WS. *hundseofontig*, -*antig*, later also -*syfontig*, etc. (*seofontig* already in Or., beside *hundseofontig*);

Merc. Ps. *hundseofentig*, R.¹ *hundseofuntig*; North. R.² *hund-sifontig*, *-sifuntig*, L. (h)*undseofontig*, *hundseofuntig*, *unse(o)-funtig*, *unseofontig*, Rit. *hundseofontig*.

80. *hundæhtatig* (beside simple *æhtatig* already in Or.); Merc. Ps. *hundæhtatig*; North. R.² *hundæhtetig*, L. *hundhæhtatig*.

90. *hundnigontig*, *-nigantig*, sporadically also *-nlogontig*, *-nygontig*, etc.; Merc. R.¹ *hundnigontig*; North. R.² *hundniontig*, L. *hundnēantig*, *-tīh*, *hundnēontig*.

100. *hun(d)tēontig*; Merc. R.¹ *hundtēantig*, *-tēontig*; North. R.² *hun(d)tēantig*, L. *hun(d)tēantig*, *-h*, *-teig*, Rit. *huntēantig*.

110. *hundælleftig*- Cura Past., later *hundendlyftig*, *hundend-*, *-ændlæftig*, etc.

120. *hundtwelftig*; beside later *hundtwentig*, with the same meaning.

These numbers are originally neuter nouns, and followed by the genitive; but they also occur as adjectives at a comparatively early period. They frequently form a gen. in *-es*, as if sing.: *ðrittiges*, *fīftiges*, etc.; but have also gen. *-tega*, *-tiga*, beside *-tigra*, dat. *-tegum*, *-tīgum*. In some later texts they are wholly indeclinable.

NOTE 1. The inflected forms of Ps. are *hundæhtatiges* and *fēower-*, *hundseofentigum*; R.¹ *hundseofuntigum*; R.² *twōegen-*, *fēower-*, *fif-*, *huntēantigum*; L. *sextelges*, *ðrittiges*, and *tuōn-*, *fif-*, *unseofuntigum*; Rit. *huntēantiges*, and *fēovr-*, *fif-*, *huntēantigum*.

NOTE 2. Prefixed numbers below ten are (so far as can be determined) usually in the neut., and remain undeclined, like *pāra twā* and *twentigra manna*; only the monosyllabic datives, *twām* and *ðrim*, are also usual in this position.

327. Beside *hundtēontig*, there is a simple neut. *hund* (*ān hund*) and neut. *hundred* (so also R.; North. R.² *hundreð*, *-ed*, L. Rit. *hundrað*, beside *-æð* L.) for 100.

200–900 are generally formed with the neut. *hund*: *tū hund*, *þrīo hund*, etc.; less frequently with *hund-tēontig* and *hundred*.

1000 is neut. *þūsēnd*, gen. *-des*, dat. *-de*; the plural is *þūsēndu* (*-o*, *-a*, sporadic *-e*) — but frequently uninflected, *þūsēnd* — gen. *-da* (sporadic *-dra*), dat. *-dum*; Ps. *þūsēnd(u)*, dat. *-dum*, R.¹ *þūsēnda*, *-de*, R.² *þūsēndo*, gen. *-da*, dat. *-dum*, L. *þūsēnd(o)*, dat. *-dum*, Rit. *þūsēndo*, *-da*.

NOTE 1. *hund* has North. dat. *hundum* R.² L., but in EWS. is inflected like a sing., *hunde*; but the word is usually indeclinable. From *hundred* are formed the plurals *hundredu* and *hundred*, the former only when used absolutely.

NOTE 2. These numbers also are originally nouns with substantive declension, yet are often treated like adjectives, and are in many cases employed later as indeclinable.

NOTE 3. Numbers which exceed hundreds of thousands are, when necessary, expressed periphrastically: *tēn þūsēnd siðum hundfealde þūsēnda* = *a thousand millions*.

2. ORDINALS

328. The ordinal corresponding to 1 is *forma* (also *formesta*, *fyrrest(a)*, *fyrest(a)*; also R.¹ North. *forð-mest*, and subst. *forwost* L., *foermest*, *foerðmest*, *forwest* R.²) or *æresta* (the first of two is designated by *ærra*). That corresponding to 2 is *öðer*, or *æfterra*. The others are:

3. *þridða*; Merc. R.¹ *þridde*, *-a*, *þrydda*; North. R.² *þirda*, L. Rit. *þird(d)a*, and rarely L. *þridða*.

4. *fēorða*, later also *fēowerða*; Merc. R.¹ *fēorþa*, North. R.² L. *fēarða*, beside L. *fēorða*.

5. *fifta* (throughout the language).

6. *siexta*, *sixta*, *syxta*, etc.; Merc. R.¹ *sexta* and *syxta*, R.² *sesta*, *sexta*, L. Rit. *seista*, *sesta*.

7. *siofoða*, Common WS. *seofoda*, -eða, etc.; Merc. R.¹ *siofund(a)*, North. R.² *siofunda*, L. *seofunda*, -onda.

8. *eahtoða*, -eða (*ehtoða*, etc., § 108. 2), LWS. also *e(a)htēoða*; Angl. *eahtegēða* Bede, North. R.² *æhtoða*, L. *æhteða*, -aþe (*eahteða*).

9. *nigoða*, -eða (later also forms like *nigeoða*, *nygoða*, *neogoða*, etc.); Merc. R.¹ *nigopa*.

10. *tēoða*; Mart. Bede *teogēða*, North. R.² -*tegða*, L. *teigða*, *teifða*.

11. *enleſta* Or., later *endliſta*, -*leſta*, -*leoſta*, -*luſta*, *æn(d)lyſta*, etc.; Merc. R.¹ *ælleſta*, *elleſta*, North. L. *ælleſta*.

12. *twelfta*.

13-19 have WS. -*tēoða* (note LWS. *þreottēoða*, beside *þrēotēoða*, according to 230, note 1, and *e(a)htēoða*, beside *e(a)htatēoða*); dialectal also are -*teg(e)ða*, -*teog(e)ða* (*eahtategēða* Mart., *fēower-*, *fif-*, *seofentegēða*, beside *eahtategēða* Later Mart., *fēower-*, *seofon-teogēða*, beside *fifteogēða* Bede), North. R.² *fiftegða*, L. *fifteifða*.

20-120 end in EWS. in -*tigoða* (-*tlogoða*, -*tegoða*, -*teogða*), but later there occur, beside -*tigoða*, forms like -*tigeða*, -*tegeða*, -*teogoða*, etc.: *twentigoða*, etc. (*fēowerteogpa* already in Or.), beside sporadic -*tēga*, -*tiga* (already *fēowertēga* Chron.) and LWS. frequently -*tēoða* (already *fēowertēoða* Or.); beside dialectic *twentigēða* Mart., *twentigða* Bede.

No ordinals are formed corresponding to *hund*, *hundred*, and *þūsend*, periphrasis being employed instead: *sē ōe byð on ðām twām hundredum æftemyst*, *ducentesimus*; *sē ōe bið æftemyst on þūsendgetele*, *millesimus* (Ælfric), etc.

Compound numbers either have the second numeral an ordinal, *ān*, *twā* (always so as a neut.), *þrī* and *twentigoða*, etc., or the ordinal of the unit is followed by *ēac* and the dat. of the cardinals denoting the tens: *þridda ēac twentigum*, 23*d*; *siexta ēac fiftigum*, 56*th*, etc.

All ordinals are declined like weak adjectives (304), with the exception of *ōðer*, which belongs to the strong adjective declension; the superlative forms for the number 1 vary according to 311. Prefixed units are

not declined (with the exception of the monosyllabic datives *twæm*, *twām*, and perhaps *ðrim*; cf. 326, note 2.)

3. OTHER NUMERALS

329. In OE. there are only relics of former distributives.

NOTE 1. The stereotyped poetic forms *twih* and *twēonum*, occurring in phrases like *mīd unc twih*, *between ourselves*; *be sām twēonum*, *between the seas*, are related to Goth. *twelhnai*. More usually these forms are combined with the preposition *be* to the purely prepositional *betwēoh*, *betwuh*, *betuh* (*betwih*, *betwyh* only in the texts with Anglian coloring, like Bede, Ep. Alex. (but Boeth. also *betwyh*), Angl. *betwih* Ps. R.¹ (here also *betwīhc*, *betwīg*) R.², *bi-*, *betuīh* L., *bitwih* Rit.), and *betwēonum*, *-an* (rarely later *betwȳnan*; Ps. *betwīnum*; also older *bituīhn* Corp., *bituīchn* Erf., *bituīcn* Ep., Merc. R.¹ *betwīon*, *betwēon*, North. R.² *bitwīon*, L. *bi-*, *betwīen*, *bituēn*, Rit. *bitwīen*, *bitvīn*, *bitvēn*, poet. *betwēon*), *between*.

In like manner there arose a preposition *betweox(n)*, *betwux(n)*, *betux* (rare older by-forms *betuoxn*, *betwiux*; later forms like *betwyx* Boeth.; Merc. *betwix*, *betwihs* R.¹), *betwixt* (compare OHG. *in*, *untar zuiskēm*).

NOTE 2. The acc. plur. masc. *þrinna*, *three by three*, occurring only once, is probably from Old Norse.

NOTE 3. Otherwise, *one by one* is rendered by *æn-*, *ānliepge* (Merc. North. adverbial *ānlepum* R.¹, *ānlapum* L.; for *two by two*, *three by three*, etc. are used the dative formulas *twām ond twām* (also adj. *getwinne*), *ðrim ond ðrim*, *fēower ond fēower*, *ðūsendum ond ðūsendum* (also *þūsendfealde*), etc.

330. Multiplicatives are formed by adding the adjective *-feald* to the cardinals: *ānfeald*, *twie-*, *twyfeald* (later also *twifeald*, *twigfeald*), *ðrie-*, *ðryfeald* (also *ðrio-*, *ðrēofeald*, etc.), *mōnigfeald*, etc.

NOTE 1. Ps. has *seofenfaldlice*, R.¹ *ān-*, *hundtēantigfald*, R.² *fēoðorfald*, L. *twu-*, *tuufald* (also *tuu-*, *tuifallice*), *fēarfald*, *seofofallice*, *tēafald*, Rit. *tvīfallico*, *ðrifald* (*ðriffald*), *seofafald*, *seofanfallice*.

NOTE 2. *twiefeald* and *þriefeald* sometimes inflect even the first member in the dat.: *twāmfældum*, *þrimfældum*, *þrimfældre*, etc. (compare also *twāmfældum*, *duplo* R.¹). From *monigfeald* there occurs a double comparative *māfealdra* (308, note).

331. Of simple numeral adverbs in answer to the question *how often?* only the following are in use: *āne*, *once* (rarely gen. *ānes*); *tuwa* (*tuwwa*, *tua*; also *twiwa*, *twywa*, *tweowa*, and *twuga*, *twig(e)a*, later also *twia*, *twie*, etc.; North. R.² *twiga*, -e, L. *twiga*, -o), *twice*; and *þriwa* (*þrywa*, *þreowa*; Merc. R.¹ *priowa*, *priuwa*, North. R.² *þrige*, L. *þriga*, *þria*, Rit. *þriga*), *thrice*. All others, including by-forms to those just named, are formed periphrastically by means of *sīð*, *journey*, *time*: *āne sīða* (later *sīðe*), *once*; *twāem*, *þrim*, *fif*, *twentigum sīðum*, etc.; North. R.² *siofo*, *tēa sīðum*, *huntēa(n)-tigum sīða*, L. *fēor*, *tēa sīðum*, and *se(o)fo* (*seofa*), *undseofontig*, *hun(d)tēantig sīða* (*huntēantig sīðo*); likewise *on āenne sīð*, etc.

NOTE. *The first, second, third time*, etc., is expressed by *forman*, *ððre*, *þriddan sīðe*, etc.

CHAPTER IV. PRONOUNS

1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF GENDER

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON
332.		
Sing. N.	ic	ŭū
G.	mīn	ŭīn
D.	mě	ŭě
A.	mě (mec)	ŭě (ŭec)
Dual N.	wīt	gīt
G.	uncer	īncēr
D.	unc	īnc
A.	unc (uncit?)	īnc (īncit)
Plur. N.	wě	gě
G.	ūre (ūs(s)er)	ēower, īower
D.	ūs	ēow, īow
A.	ūs (ūsic)	ēow, īow (ēowic)

NOTE 1. The forms here given are those of WS. prose, except the parenthetical ones; these occur for or beside the others in texts with more or less dialectic coloring, and especially in the poetry.

NOTE 2. Beside *ic*, there occurs the negative *nic*, *nīec*, with the meaning *no*.

NOTE 3. In *wé*, *gé*, etc., the length of the vowel is established by gemination and accent in the MSS., but cf. 121.

NOTE 4. The Anglian forms are: *a*) first person: Merc. Ps. *ic*, *mīn*, *mě*, *mec* (*mīc*, *mě*), plur. *wě*, *ūr*, *ūs*, *ūsic* (*ūs*); R.¹ *ic* (*nīc*), *mīn*, *mě*, *mec* (*mě*), dual *wīt*, —, *unc*, *unc*, plur. *wě* (*wæ*, *wē*), *ūre*, *ūs*, *ūsic* (*ūs*); North. R.² *ic* (*ih*), *mīn*, *mě*, *mec*, plur. *wě*, *ūser*, *ūs*, *ūsth*; L. *ic* (*ih*, *ich*), *mīn*, *mě*, *mec* (*meh*, *mech*), plur. *wě* (*wæ*, *wæ*), *ūser*, *ūs* (*ūsic*, *-ig*), *ūsic* (*-ich*, *-ih*, *-ig*), Rit. *ic*, —, *mě*, *mec* (*mehc*), plur. *wě*, *ūser* (*ūsra*, *ūsgra*), *ūs*, *ūsīg*; *b*) second person: Merc. Ps. *ŭū*, *ŭīn*, *ŭě* (*ŭē*), *ŭec* (*ŭe*; sporadic *ŭæc*), plur. *gě*, —, *ēow*, *ēowic* (*ēow*); R.¹ *pū*, *pīn*, *pě*, *pec* (*pæc*; *pě*), dual *gīt*, dat. *īnc*, plur. *gě*, *ēower*, *ēow*, *ēowic* (*ēow*); North. R.² *ŭū*, *ŭīn*, *ŭě*, *ŭec* (*ŭeh*), plur. *gě* (*gee*, *gie*, *gi*), *īower* (*īowera*, *īowre*), dat. acc. promiscuously *īow*, *īowih* (*īowh*, *īoh*); L. *ŭū*, *ŭīn*, *ŭě*, *ŭec* (*ŭeh*, *ŭech*),

plur. *gīe* (*ge*, *gee*, *glæ*, *gæ*), *īwer* (*īuer*; *īurre*, *īuerra*, *-o*), dat. *īuh* (*īowh*, *īouh*, etc., sporadic *īow*, *īw*), acc. *īulh* (*īwih*, *īowih*); Rit. *Ńū*, dat. acc. promiscuously *Ńē*, *Ńec*, plur. *gīe*, dat. acc. promiscuously *īuh*, *īulh* (*īwih*, *īwigh*).

In the North. texts the forms *mē* and *mec*, *Ńē* and *Ńec* are still somewhat distinguished as dat. and acc., but the severance is no longer a strict one; on the forms with *īw-*, *īu-*, etc., cf. 156.5.

2. REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

333. An independent reflexive pronoun no longer exists in OE. In its stead are employed the corresponding forms of the third personal pronoun (334).

3. PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
334. Sing. N.	<i>hē</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>hīo</i> , <i>hēo</i>
G.	<i>his</i>		<i>hiere</i> (<i>hire</i> , <i>hyre</i>)
D.	<i>him</i>		<i>hiere</i> (<i>hire</i> , <i>hyre</i>)
A.	<i>hi(e)ne</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>hīe</i> (<i>hī</i> , <i>hŷ</i>)
Plur. N. A.		<i>hīe</i> (<i>hī</i> , <i>hŷ</i>)	
G.		<i>hiera</i> (<i>hira</i> , <i>hyra</i>); <i>hiora</i> , <i>heora</i>	
D.		<i>him</i>	

NOTE 1. The *i*-forms often occur in LWS. with *y*: *hys*, *hym*, *hyne*, *hyt*.

Rarer and partially dialectic by-forms are: nom. sing. fem. *hīe*, *hī*, *hīg*, and conversely acc. sing. fem. *hēo*; plur. nom. acc. *hēo*, dat. *heom*.

NOTE 2. Kent. has: sing. nom. fem. *hīa* Cod. Dipl., *hī* (beside *hīo*, *hēo*) Kent. Gl., gen. *hiere* Cod. Dipl., *hiora*, *-e*, *hiere* Kent. Gl., dat. *hiere* Cod. Dipl., Kent. Gl., plur. nom. acc. *hīe*, *hīa*, *hīo* Cod. Dipl., *hī*, *hīo* Kent. Gl., *hīe*, *hīo* Kent. Ps., gen. *hiora*, *heora*, *hira* Cod. Dipl., *hiora* Kent. Ps., dat. *heom* Cod. Dipl., *hiom* Kent. Ps.

NOTE 3. The Anglian forms are: Merc. Ps. masc. neut. *hē* — *hit*, *his*, *him*, *hīne* — *hit*, fem. *hīe*, *hire*, *hīre*, *hīe*, plur. *hīe* (*hīo*; *hē*?), *heara*, *him*; R.¹ masc. neut. *hē* — *hit*, *his*, *him* (*heom*), *hīne* (*hīnæ*) — *hit*, fem. *hīu* (*hīo*, *hēo*), *hire*, *-æ*, *hīre*, *hīo* (*hēo*, *hīæ*, *hīe*), plur.

hēo (*hīo*, *hīæ*, *hīe*, *hīe*, *hīe*, *hī*, *hī*; *hē*?), *heora* (*hiora*), *heom* (*him*); North. R.² masc. neut. *hē* (*hee*) — *hit*, *his*, *him*, *hine* — *hit*, fem. *hīo*, *hire* (*hir*), *hir*, *hīa* (*hīæ*), plur. *hīæ* (*hīa*, *hīe*), *hiora* (*hiara*), *him*; L. masc. neut. *hē* (*hee*) — *hit*, *his* (*is*), *him*, *hine* — *hit*, fem. *hīu* (*hīo*, *hīa*), *hire* (*hiræ*), *hir* (*hire*, *-æ*), *hīa* (*hēa*), plur. *hīa* (*hēa*, *hīe*, *hīe*, *hīæ*, *hī*), *hiora* (*hiara*, *heora*, *heara*), *him*; Rit. masc. *hē*, *his*, *him*, *hine*, fem. gen. *hire* (*hir*), acc. *hīa*, plur. *hīa*, *hiora* (*hiara*).

4. POSSESSIVES

335. The possessives are formed from the stems of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons, and from that of the lost reflexive: *mīn*, *mine*; *ðīn*, *thine*; *sīn*, *his*; *uncer*, *of us two*; *incer*, *of you two*; *ūre*, *our*; *ēower* (*īower*), *your*. Beside *sīn*, which may stand for any gender or number, and is generally employed as a reflexive (like Lat. *suus*), the genitives of the third personal pronoun, *his*, *hire*, plur. *hiera*, are also used as possessives.

NOTE. For *ūre*, the typical WS. form, the less pure WS. texts, together with the poetry, have also *ūser*, *ūsser* (once dat. *ūssum* in Cura Past.). The Angl. forms are: Ps. *ūr*, R.¹ *ūre* (beside acc. sing. masc. *ūserne*), North. R.² *ūser*, L. *ūser*, *ūsa*, Rit. gen. *ūses*, etc. (**336**, note).

For *ēower* (so also Ps. R.¹) North. has R.² *īower*, L. *īuer*, *īwer*, etc., Rit. *īuer* (**156**. 5).

336. The declension of the possessives is the same as that of the strong adjectives (*ūre* like *grēne*, **298**; the *r*-cases very often have simple *r*: gen. dat. sing. fem. *ūre*, gen. plur. *ūra*).

NOTE. *ūser* generally assimilates *sr* to *ss* in the cases which have syncope of the middle vowel (**144**; cf. **180**): *ūsses*, *ūssum*, for **ūsres*, **ūsrum*, etc.; but *ūserne*. The double *s* forces itself, however, even into unsynocopated cases: *ūsser*, *ūsserne*, *ūssera*. This assimilation is wanting in North. (hence forms like nom. acc. sing.

fem. or nom. plur., etc., *ūsra* L., *ūsera* R.²); in their stead occur by-forms without *r*, like (nom. *ūsa* L.) *ūses*, *ūsum* R.² L. Rit., (nom. plur. *ūso* L.), etc.

īuer forms in L. Rit. the inflected forms partly with, and partly without, the middle vowel; hence on the one hand forms like *īueres* (*īweres*), beside *īures*, etc., and on the other in L. such also as acc. sing. masc. *īurrhe*, gen. plur. *īur(r)a*, etc. However, the North. declension of *ūser* and *īuer* (*īower*) is in many respects extremely uncertain, as the glossators seem often to have put down any form that occurred to them.

5. DEMONSTRATIVES

337. The pronoun *sē*, *sīo*, *ðæt*, originally a simple demonstrative, was almost altogether restricted in Old English to the weaker function of the definite article. Its declension in WS. is:

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Sing. N.	<i>sē</i>	<i>ðæt</i>	<i>sīo</i> , <i>sēo</i>
G.	<i>ðæs</i>		<i>ðære</i>
D.	<i>ðæm</i> (<i>ðām</i>)		<i>ðære</i>
A.	<i>ðone</i>	<i>ðæt</i>	<i>ðā</i>
I.	<i>ðy</i> ; <i>ðon</i>		—
Plur. N. A.		<i>ðā</i>	
G.		<i>ðara</i> (<i>ðæra</i>)	
D.		<i>ðæm</i> (<i>ðām</i>)	

NOTE 1. Forms in parenthesis are more recent, and are seldom or never found in the oldest texts.

NOTE 2. In very late texts *sēo* is frequently found for *sē*; still later *þē*, *þēo* occur for *sē*, *sēo*. — In the older language *ðære* (Kentish? cf. note 3) rarely occurs for *ðære*, and sporadically *ðær* as dat. sing. Late texts frequently have the forms *þære* and *þæra*. — Besides *ðone*, there occur also *ðæne* and *ðane*, both frequent in LWS. — *ðām* passes into the LWS. *ðān* (cf. 187). The instrumental *ðon* (*ðān*) appears but seldom as an attributive; it is chiefly found in phrases of comparison like *ðon mā*, *more than that*, and adverbial formulas like *for*, *bī ðon*, *on that account*; *æfter ðon*, *after that*, etc. (on *slotðān*, *syððān* see 107, note 5).

NOTE 3. Kent. has forms with *æ* (151. 1), beside those with *e*, like *ſet*, *ſes*, *ſēre*, *ſēm* (*ſām*); beside *ſēre* also *ſære*; acc. *ſane*, beside *ſone*; instr. *ſan*, beside *ſon*; gen. plur. *ſeara*, beside *ſāra* (*ſæra*).

NOTE 4. The inflectional forms of Angl. are (with the exception of *ſy*, *ſon*, which are always the same): Merc. Ps. masc. neut. *sē* — *ſæt* (*ſet*), *ſes* (1 *ſæs*), *ſæm*, *ſone*, fem. *sie* (1 *sēo*), *ſēre*, *ſēre*, *ſā*, plur. *ſā*, *ſeara*, *ſæm*; R.¹ masc. neut. *sē* (*pē*) — *pæt*, *pæs* (*pas*), *pæm* (1 *pēm*), *pone* (*pane*, *pæne*, *pene*, *pene*); fem. *sio* (*sīu*, *sēo*; *sie*), *pære* (*pāre*, -a), *pære* (*pāra*), *pā*, plur. *pā*, *pāra* (*pāræ*, *pāræ*, -e), *pæm*; North. R.² masc. neut. *ſē* (1 *ſæ*, rarely *sē*) — *ſæt*, *ſæs*, *ſæm* (*ſān*, *ſæn*), *ſone* (*ſonne*, *ſon*; *ſæne*, *ſene*), fem. *ſio* (*ſe*, *ſi* ?), *ſære* (*ſær*, *ſære*), *ſær* (*ſer*), *ſa* (*ſæ*), plur. *ſā*, *ſāra* (*ſæra*, -æ), *ſæm* (1 *ſān*); L. masc. neut. *sē* (*ſē*; *sæ*, *ſæ*) — *ſæt*, *ſæs*, *ſæm* (*ſæn*, *ſēm*), *ſone* (*ſæne*, *ſene*), fem. *sio* (*ſīu*, *ſio*, *ſy*), *ſære* (*ſæra*, -æ, *ſær*, *ſāra*), *ſær* (*ſære*), *ſā* (*ſio*, *ſīu*, *ſy*), plur. *ſā*, *ſāra* (*ſæra*), *ſæm*; Rit. *sē* (*ſē*), *ſæs*, *ſæm* (*ſēm*), *ſone*, fem. *sio* (*ſio*, *ſīu*), *ſære*, *ſær*, plur. *ſā*, *ſāra*, *ſæm*.

338. The compound demonstrative pronoun *ſēs*, fem. *ſios* (*ſēos*), neut. *ſis*, *this*, is thus declined in EWS.:

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.
Sing. N.	<i>ſēs</i>	<i>ſis</i>	<i>ſios</i> , <i>ſēos</i>
G.	<i>ſis(s)es</i> , <i>ſys(s)es</i>		<i>ſisse</i>
D.	<i>ſis(s)um</i> , <i>ſys(s)um</i> ; <i>ſiosum</i>		<i>ſisse</i>
A.	<i>ſisne</i> , <i>ſysne</i>	<i>ſis</i>	<i>ſās</i>
I.	<i>ſys</i> , <i>ſis</i>		—
Plur. N. A.		<i>ſās</i>	
G.		<i>ſissa</i>	
D.		<i>ſis(s)um</i> , <i>ſys(s)um</i> ; <i>ſios(s)um</i>	

NOTE 1. In the older documents *y* is confined to the cases instanced above; subsequently it takes the place of *i* in the other cases, according to 22.

NOTE 2. In LWS. the gen. dat. sing. fem. and gen. plur. occur as *ſissere*, *ſissera*, and occasionally syncopated: *ſisre*, *ſisra*.

NOTE 3. Of different forms, Kent. has Cod. Dipl. dat. *ſis(s)em*, gen. dat. fem. *ſeosse*, gen. plur. *ſeassa*.

NOTE 4. The Anglian forms are: a) Merc. Ps. masc. neut. *ſes* — *ſis*, *ſisses*, *ſissum*, *ſeosne*, fem. *ſēos*, *ſisse*, *ſisse*, *ſās*, plur. *ſās*,

Þissum (Þeossum); R.¹ masc. neut. **þes** (þēs; Þeos, þīos?) — **þis**, **þisses**, **þissum**, **þisne** (þeosne), fem. **þēos** (þīos), **þisse**, **þisse** (**þissere**), **þās**, plur. **þās**, **þissa** (-e, -e), **þissum** (1 þassum); *b*) North. R.² masc. neut. **ðes** (ðæs; ðis?) — **ðis**, **ðisses** (ðasses), **ðissum** (ðassum), **ðiosne**, instr. **ðisse**, fem. **ðios**, **ðisser** (ðisse, ðasse), **ðisser** (ðæsser), **ðās** (ðasse; ðios), plur. **ðās**, **ðisra**, **ðissum** (ðassum); L. masc. neut. **ðes** (ðæs; ðis?) — **ðis** (ðæs?), **ðis(s)es**, **ðis(s)um** (ðas(s)um), **ðiosne** (ðionne), instr. **ðisse** (ðissa, ðiss), fem. **ðios** (ðius, ðyus, ðys), dat. **ðis(s)er** (ðissær, ðasser; ðis(s)a?), **ðās** (ðios, ðius, ðūs, ðis), plur. **ðās**, **ðisra** (ðassa), **ðis(s)um** (ðas(s)um); Rit. masc. neut. **ðes** — **ðis**, **ðisses** (-æs, ðisis), **ðis(s)um** (ðassum), **ðiosne**, fem. **ðios**, —, **ðisser**, **ðās** (ðæss, ðios), plur. **ðās**, **ðisra**, **ðis(s)um**.

NOTE 5. This pronoun was originally formed by the addition of a particle, -se, -si (= Goth. *sai*, OHG. *sē*, *behold*?), to the case-forms of the simple demonstrative. In OE. there are only such relics of this formation as **ðē-s**, **ðio-s** (compare North. **ðē**, **ðiu**, 337, note 4), **ðā-s**, since the particle first became incorporated with the pronoun, and then partook of its inflection throughout.

NOTE 6. The pronoun **jener**, Goth. **jains**, scarcely survives in OE.; an isolated **tō geonre byrg** (Cura Past. 443. 25) is the only occurrence known. From the same root are derived the adverbs and prepositions **geond** (**glend**, **gind**), *through*; **begeondan**, *beyond*, etc. (74).

339. The pronoun of identity (Lat. *idem*) is **sē ilca** (or **ilca**? compare the adv. **idægēs**, *the same day*; **isīðes**, *at the same time*; in Cura Past. often **ilca**, in late texts occasionally with recent middle vowel, **ilica**, **yleca**), *the same*, which is declined like a weak adjective, but occasionally develops also strong forms.

The equivalent of *ipse* is EWS. **self**, later usually **sylf**; Kent. **self** Kent. Gl. Kent. Ps., beside **seolf** Cod. Dipl.; Merc. Ps. **seolf**, R.¹ **seolf**, **sylf**, **self**, **self**; North. R.² **solf**, L. **seolf** (**sulf**), Rit. **seolf** (**seolf**?); the word may follow either declension.

NOTE. **sē selfa** anciently meant only *he himself*; not till late did it acquire the signification of *the same*.

6. RELATIVES

340. OE. has no proper relative pronoun. Its place is supplied either by the simple demonstrative *sē, sīo, ðæt*, or the particle *ðē*, alone or in combination with a demonstrative.

NOTE. *sē, sīo, ðæt*, can of course refer only to the third person. *ðē* but seldom stands alone; it usually refers to an antecedent demonstrative: *sē, sīo, ðæt*. This demonstrative frequently occupies a position immediately before the *ðē* (*sē ðē, sīo ðē*, neut. anciently *ðætte*, subsequently analyzed into *ðæt ðe*), though it belongs, grammatically, to the preceding sentence.

Less frequent is the combination with a personal pronoun, which is then appended to the *ðē*: *ðē hē, who*; *ðē his, whose*; *ðē him, (to) whom*, etc.; even double formations, *sē ðē his*, etc., occur. If the relative refers to the first or second person, either simple *ðē* (*ic . . . ðē, ðū . . . ðē*, or *ðū ðē*, etc.) or the personal pronoun follows them, as described above: *ðē ic, I who*; *ðē wē, we who*; *ðē ūs, us whom*, etc.

7. INTERROGATIVES

341. The simple interrogative *hwā, hwæt* (= Goth. *hwas*) has developed only the masc. and neut. sing. The neut. *hwæt*, with a following genitive (for example, *hwæt monna*), signifies *what sort of a?*

	MASC.	NEUT.
Sing. N.	<i>hwā</i>	<i>hwæt</i>
G.	<i>hwæs</i>	
D	<i>hwæm (hwām)</i>	
A.	<i>hwone</i>	<i>hwæt</i>
I.	—	<i>hwȳ, hwī</i>

NOTE 1. A second form of the instr., **hwon** (**hwan**), is met with only in adverbial phrases like **tō hwon**, *wherefore?* for **hwon**, *why?* etc.; a third, **hū**, only in the character of an adverb, *how?*

NOTE 2. On the inflection compare, in general, 337. Beside **hwone** (rarely **hwane**), **hwæne** is also found, especially in LWS.

NOTE 3. Kent. by-forms are **hwet**, beside **hwæt** (151. 1), instr. **hwē**, beside **hwī** (154). Ps. has **hwet** (once **hwet**), R.¹ **hwæt** (once **huat**); North., beside regular **hwæt** R.², has L. **hwæt** (**huæt**, etc.) and **hused(d)**, **huætd**, **huædt**, Rit. only **hvæd(d)**, **hvætd**.

NOTE 4. The compounded **gehwā**, *each* (347), regularly has EWS. gen. dat. **gehwæs**, **gehwæm**, even when it refers to a fem.; in LWS. a newly formed **gehwære**, **gehwäre** is also used in this case (Beitr. 10. 485).

342. Of the strong adjective declension are **hwæðer** (Goth. **hwapar**), *which of two?* and the compounds **hwelc** (Goth. **hwileiks**), *which?* and **hūlic**, *of what sort?*

The correlative of **hwelc** is **swelc**, *such* (Goth. **swaleiks**).

NOTE 1. For WS. **hwæðer** Kent. has also **hweðer** (151. 1); Merc. R.¹ varies between **hwæper** and **hweper** (no examples in Ps.); North. R.² **hweðer**, L. **hueðer** (**huoðer**, also **huæðer**); the latter forms point to a basic form with original *e* (cf. OHG. **hwedar**).

NOTE 2. For EWS. **hwelc** LWS. generally has **hwilc**, **hwylc**. Kent. has **hwelc**, beside **hwylc** Cod. Dipl. and **hwilc** Kent. Gl.; Merc. Ps. **hwelc**, R.¹ **hwelc**, **hwælc**, and **hwilc**, **huylc**; North. R.² **hwelc**, L. **huelc**, **huælc**, **huoelc**, Rit. **hvælc**, **hvoelc**.

NOTE 3. Later WS. by-forms to **swelc** are **swilc** and **swylc**. Kent. has **suelc**, **swælc**, **sullc** Cod. Dipl.; Merc. Ps. ***swelc** (in adv. **swelce**), R.¹ **swilc**; North. R.² **swelc**; L. **swelc**, **swælc** (adv. also **suœlc**, and once **sullc**).

8. INDEFINITES

343. The indefinite pronoun *some one* is expressed by **sum**, which is declined like a strong adjective. In negative and interrogative sentences, the interrogatives

hwǣ, **hwæðer**, **hwelc** may be used as indefinites. Most of the other indefinites are formed by composition.

344. 1) The indeclinable **-hwugu**, **-hugu**, etc. (see note 1), forms with **hwæt** the noun **hwæth(w)ugu**, *anything*, and with **hwelc** the noun and adjective **hwelc-h(w)ugu**, *any one*.

NOTE 1. The pure WS. form is generally **-hwugu**, **-hugu**; but beside it occur, especially in texts with dialectic coloring, **-hwega**, **-u**, **-o**; **-hwiga**, **-hwygo**, **-u**. Ep. has **-huuœga**, Corp. **-huegu**; R.¹ **-hwugu**; North. R.² **-hwœg(n)u**, **-o**, **-hweogne**, **-hwogu**, L. **hwelc-**, **huœlchuœgu**, **-o**, **-e** (also gen. **huœlchuœges**), and **huot-**, **huod-huœgu**, **-o**, **-huogu**, **-o**, **-e**.

NOTE 2. Of the same meaning as **hwæth(w)ugu** is EWS. **hwæt-huguningas** Cura Past. MS. H, **-hwugununges** MS. C and Boeth., beside **-hweg(a)nunges**, **-hweguninga** Boeth.

For *any one* North. employs also L. **huœl-**, **huœlchuœne**.

2) The same meaning is expressed by **nāthwá**, **nāthwelc**, properly *I know not who*.

3) *Anything* is likewise rendered by **āwuht** (**ǣuht**, LWS. often **āht**), **ōwuht** (**ōht**).

NOTE 3. Forms with **i**, like **āwiht**, **ōwiht**, are hardly to be considered as pure WS. (they are common in the poetry); cf. **164.** 2 and R.¹ **āwiht**, **ōwiht** (R.² only **ōht**), beside **348.**, note 2.

345. Indefinite relatives are formed from the interrogatives by **swǣ** — **swǣ**: **swǣ hwǣ swǣ**, **swǣ hwæðer swǣ**, **swǣ hwelc swǣ**, *whosoever*, etc. To these add LWS. **lōcahwǣ**, **lōchhwǣ** (sporadic **lāhwǣ**), **lōchhwæðer**, **lōchwylc**, with the same meaning (cf. OHG. **sihuuer**, **sihuuelih**). For other expressions in place of indefinite relatives see Kluge, Beitr. 8. 531–532.

NOTE. For **swǣ hwæðer swǣ** is occasionally found **swǣ hwaðer swǣ**, or, with contraction, **swæðer**, **swaðer**; similarly **swilc** for **swǣ hwilc swǣ**.

346. *One of two, either* (Lat. *alteruter*) is *āhwæðer* (*āwðer*, *ǣuðer*, *āðer*, -or), *ōhwæðer* (*ōwðer*), which is mostly confined to negative sentences. Of similar formation are *āhwylc*, and *āhwǣ*, *āhwæt*.

347. *Each* is denoted by *ǣlc*, beside *gehwā* (only as a substantive; for its declension see **341**, note 4), *gehwele* (also *ānra gehwele*, *each one separately*), and *gehweðer*, *both*; or strengthened to *ǣghwǣ*, *ǣghwele*, *ǣghweðer* (shortened to *ǣgðer*). Less common are *æthwǣ*, *samhwele*, *welhwæt*, (*ge*)-*welhwele*.

For *everything*, beside *eall*, there occurs the periphrasis *ǣlc wuht*, *ǣlcuht* (**348. 2**).

NOTE 1. Beside *ǣlc*, Kent. has also *ēlc* (**151. 1**); Ps. has *ȝlc* (once also *ǣlc*), R.² *ēlc*, L. Rit. *ǣlc*.

NOTE 2. For the WS. formations with *ǣg-* the dialects have: Kent. *ǣg-*, *ēg-*, *ēlhwele* (**151. 1**; **214. 2**; **342**, note 2); Merc. Ps. *ǣghwele* (compare *ǣghuuele* Ep. Corp.); North. R.² *ǣghwǣ*, *ǣghwele*, L. *ǣghwele*, -*huole* (rarely *ǣghuole*) and *ǣgðer* (*ǣghðer*), Rit. *ǣghuole* (once *ǣghuole*).

NOTE 3. This prefixed *ǣ*, *ē*, *œ* corresponds to the Goth. *aiw*, OHG. *eo*, *io* (**174. 3**), and is umlauted from *ā-*, *ō-* by the *i* of the *gi* which originally followed (compare OHG. *eo-gi-hwelih*, etc.).

348. 1) To *any* corresponds OE. *ǣnig*; for *anything* occurs also North. R.² L. *ǣniht* (from *ānwiht*, **100**, note 3; cf. note 2, below).

2) *Neither* is represented by *nāhwæðer* (*nāwðer*, *nǣuðer*, *nāðer*) or *nōhwæðer* (*nōwðer*); *none* by *nān* or *nǣnig*; *nothing* by *nāwiht* (*nǣuht*, *nāht*) or *nōwuht* (*nōht*); *nān wuht*, *nānuht*; *nān þing* (later *nāþing*).

NOTE 1. *nāwuht*, etc., is neut. in the sing.; but there is also a plur. *nǣuhtas*, and a later *nāhte* used as an adj.

NOTE 2. The forms in 1, like *nāwiht*, *nōwiht*, which are common in the poetry, are hardly to be considered pure WS.; compare 344, note 3, and Merc. Ps. *nōwiht* (*nōht*), R.¹ *nāwiht* (*nauwiht*; also *nāht*, *nōht*); North. R.² L. *nōwiht* (*nōht*), beside *nāniht* (see 1, above).

349. *Such* is usually denoted (342) by *swelc* (*swilc*, *swylc*); sometimes also by *ſyslic*, *ſuslic* (likewise assimilated to *ſyllic*, *ſullic*), and **ſæslic* (in the adv. *ſæslice*, *taliter* Blickl. Gl.), but only in a demonstrative signification, never as a correlative.

PART II.—CONJUGATION

IN GENERAL

350. The OE. verb has the following forms :

1) Only one independently developed voice, the active. Of the medial passive, still to some extent preserved in Gothic, there remains only the single form *hätte*, with the plur. *hätton* (367. 2). With this exception, the passive is formed by means of the auxiliary verbs *bēon*, *wesan* (427), more rarely *weorðan*.

2) Two tenses, a present, and a general tense of past time which we call the preterit. The missing future (for *bēon* see 427) is generally supplied by the present, more rarely formed by means of the auxiliary verb *sculan*.

3) Two complete modes, an indicative and an optative (frequently called subjunctive), besides an imperative, which is only used in the present.

4) Two numbers, singular and plural.

5) Three verbal nouns, a present infinitive, a present participle with active meaning, and a past participle with intransitive or passive meaning.

NOTE. There is also found in late texts, but only sporadically, a 'participle of necessity,' or gerundive, imitated from the Latin, like *tō dōnde*, *faciendus*; and occasionally adjectives in *-lic* with the same meaning: *dōnlic*, *faciendus*; *sēndlic*, *dirigendus*. In L. simple present participles serve also to reproduce such Latin forms.

351. Germanic verbs are divided into two principal classes, according to the formation of the preterit:

1) *Strong Verbs.* These form their preterit either by the so-called ablaut, that is, variation of the radical vowel, as in Goth. **binda**, *I bind*, **band**, *I bound* (Ablaut Verbs); or by reduplication of the radical syllable, which, however, does not exclude ablaut, as in Goth. **haita**, *I call*, **haihait**, *I called*; **lēta**, *I let*, **lailōt**, *I did let* (Reduplicating Verbs).

2) *Weak Verbs.* These form their preterit by the addition of the syllable **-da**, **-ta** to the end (dental preterit): for example, Goth. **nasja**, *I save*; **haba**, *I have*; **salbō**, *I anoint*, pret. **nasida**, **habaida**, **salbōda**; **bugja**, *I buy*, pret. **bauhta**, etc. The weak verbs again fall into three classes (398).

Besides these two main divisions there are certain smaller groups, concerning which see 417 ff.

I. VERBAL ENDINGS IN GENERAL

352. The endings of the strong verbs in WS.:

PRESENT		
<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Optative</i>	<i>Imperative</i>
Sing. 1. -e	} -e	Sing. 2. —
2. -(e)s, -(e)st		Plur. 1. -an
3. -(e)þ		2. -aþ
Plur. -aþ	-en, -an, -on	
<i>Infinitive: -an</i>		<i>Participle: -ende</i>

PRETERIT		
<i>Indicative</i>		<i>Optative</i>
Sing. 1. —		} -e
2. -e		
3. —		
Plur. -un, -on, -an		-en, -an, -on
<i>Participle: -en</i>		

NOTE. For the passive forms see 367. 2.

353. The endings of the weak verbs, Class I and Class II (for those of III see the complete paradigm, 416):

PRESENT					
<i>Indicative</i>		<i>Optative</i>		<i>Imperative</i>	
I	II	I	II	I	II
Sg. 1. -e	-i(g)e	} -e	-i(g)e	Sg. 2. -e, —	-a
2. -(e)s, -(e)st	-as, -ast			Pl. 1. -an	-i(ge)an
3. -(e)ð	-að			2. -að	-i(ge)að
Pl. -að	-i(ge)að	-en	-i(g)en		

Infinitive: I. -an; II. -i(ge)an *Participle: I. -ende; II. -i(g)ende*

PRETERIT		
<i>Indicative</i>		<i>Optative</i>
Sing. 1. -de		} -de
2. -des, -dest		
3. -de		
Plur. -dun, -don, -dan		-den, -dan, -don
<i>Participle: I. -ed (-t); II. -od (-ad).</i>		

354. The endings of the strong verbs, and of the First Class of weak verbs, are the same throughout the present, with the exception of the imp. 2 sing. (362). The Second Class of weak verbs has the same consonants, but different vowels. Moreover, the endings of the ind.

plur. are identical in all verbs, and the same is true of the whole opt. pret.; except that, in both cases, allowance must be made for the preceding *d*, *t* of the weak verbs.

NOTE 1. For the preteritive presents, which form their present like a strong preterit, and their preterit like a weak preterit, see 417 ff.; for the different conjugation of verbs in *-mi* see 426 ff.

NOTE 2. In the North. texts the conjugation is much disordered, whether through actual disorganization in the language itself, or from mere awkwardness on the part of the glossators in rendering the Latin forms. Many forms cannot be assigned with certainty to any definite place in the paradigm (for example, it may be doubtful whether a form is ind. or opt., sing. or plur., etc.).

355. In all dialects, *-u* (later *-o*) is to be regarded as the original ending of the ind. pres. 1 sing.: *bindu*, *neṛiu*, *dēmu*, *lōci(g)u*; or *bindo*, etc.¹ This ending is most fully preserved in Anglian (with the exception of R.¹; see note 2). In the southern dialects, it is so soon supplanted by the optative ending *-e* that this is to be regarded as the normal form for WS. and Kent.: *binde*, *neṛi(g)e*, *dēme*, *lōci(g)e*, etc.

NOTE 1. *-o* for *-u* predominates already in Corp. (in Ep. we have no instance but *grōtu*), and also in the southern charters, so far as these have retained the old termination (individual instances of *-o*, *-u* are found till late in the 9th century, though the *-e* predominates much earlier). In the Cura Past. there is only a single *cweðo* (MS. H).

NOTE 2. Of the Mercian texts, Ps. has *-u* in a decided majority of instances, the weak verbs of the Second Class having *-lu*, more rarely *-o*, or *-lo* (beside once each *gebidda*, *sægga*, and a few *-e*-forms, which are probably optatives). On the other hand, R.¹ has predominantly the ending *-e*, or *-ige*, beside rare exceptions in *-u*, *-o*, *-a*: *ágeofu*, *dēpu*; *hælo*, *hālsio*; *ðrōwa*, *sægga*.

NOTE 3. In North. *-o*, or *-igo*, is the true norm (R.² and L. have still a few *-u*'s); but there are also found occasional *-a*'s: R.² *forlēta*,

scqmiga ; L. *dōma*, *ædēaua*, *ŋrōwa*, *ŋola* ; *ŋrōuiga*, *hālgiga*, etc. ; Rit. *sōca*, *bȳa* ; *gihælsiga*, *gidilga*, *gimyndga* (cf. also 361, note 1) ; besides certain not wholly uncommon *-e*-forms, which, however, may again be regarded as optative.

NOTE 4. Apocope of the final vowel sometimes takes place before the pronoun *ic*, especially in the phrase *wēnic*, *I ween*, for *wēne ic* ; North. L. *forældig*, *willic*, for *forældu ic*, *willo ic*, etc. (409, note 2).

356. The ind. pres. 2 sing. of all verbs, as well as the ind. pret. 2 sing. of the weak verbs, ends originally in *-s* : thus pres. *bindes*, *dēmes* (compare Goth. *bindis*, *dōmeis*), or *lōcas* (compare Goth. *salbōs*) ; pret. *neredes*, *dēmdes* (Goth. *nasidēs*, *dōmidēs*). The forms in *-s* frequently prevail in the older texts, almost to the exclusion of others, but are afterwards supplanted by those in *-st*.

NOTE 1. The *-st* establishes itself first in the monosyllabic forms of contract verbs (373 ff.) and the verbs in *-mi* (427 ff.) ; thus Corp. has already an *ondēst*. Ps. already has *-st* in nearly all these verbs, though it is decidedly rare with others. In North. *-st* is at least commoner in the monosyllabic forms of the present than in the polysyllabic. In L. and Rit., moreover, the preterit shows a stronger preference for the *-st* than the present. In Rit. *-st* has already gained the upper hand in all cases. Of the southern dialects, Kent. retains the *s*-forms longer than WS. : while, for example, the *-s* is still common in Kent. Gl., the Cura Past. scarcely preserves it except in the preterit, and there rather rarely ; elsewhere *-st* prevails (or, according to 196. 1, *-sŋ*) : *hætst*, *siht*, *eardast*, beside *spricsŋ*, *siehsŋ*, *eardasŋ*, etc.

NOTE 2. In North. the *-ŋ* of the 3 sing. intrudes into the 2 sing. (favored by the confusion of *-s* and *-ŋ* in the 3 sing., 357) : 2 sing. R.² *āwēceŋ*, *wyrcaŋ*, L. *gelēfeŋ*, *stānaŋ*, Rit. *gisleŋ*, *gilefeŋ*, *rīcsaŋ* (on the *a* see 358, note 2) ; so once even in R.¹ : *hæfeŋ*.

NOTE 3. Occasionally the 2 sing. coalesces with the pronoun of the second person, especially often in the formulas *wēn(e)stu*, *wēnsŋu*, from *wēnan*, *think*.

357. The ind. pres. 3 sing. (like the ind. pres. plur. and the imp. 2 plur., **360.1**) normally ends in **-þ**, **-ð**: **bindeð**, **dēmeð**, **lōcað** (compare Goth. **bindip**, **dōmeip**, **salbōþ**), etc. The **-þ**, **-ð** is generally stable (but cf. notes 1 and 2), except where fusion with other consonants, etc., occurs (**359**). Only in North. is there much irregular interchange with **-s** (most marked in L.): **bindeð** and **bindes**, etc.

NOTE 1. Of the oldest texts, Ep. generally has **-th** (**-þ**), more rarely **-d** and **-t**: **cæliþ**, **tebliþ**, **ginath** (**milcþ**), beside **gremid**, **borettd**, or **siftit**, **feormat**); in Corp. forms in **-t**, like **lisit**, **wunat**, are as frequent as those in **-ð**, while **-th**, and still more **-d** (**sild**, **styntid**) are uncommon.

NOTE 2. In EWS. texts **-ð** (**-þ**) is practically the only ending. Cura Past. has also a very few instances, perhaps doubtful, of **-d**, and in MS. H also a few **-t**'s. On the other hand, **-t**, beside **-d**, is common in Kent. Gl. (perhaps it belongs in general to the characteristics of Kent.).

Ps. has, beside **-ð**, rather frequent occurrences of **-d**, perhaps due only to careless writing; R.¹ has, beside **-ð**, **-þ**, also **-th** (**biddeth**) and sporadic **-d**, **-t** (**cymid**, or **sōcet**, **swērat**), but no **s**-forms.

North., too, has in L., beside **-ð**, **-s**, also a few uncrossed **-d**'s, but on account of their rarity they are also doubtful. R.² has also a few **-t**'s: **fallet**, **giscīnet**, **spillet**.

358. 1) The vowel of the ending of the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. of strong verbs, and of the First Weak Conjugation, is originally **i**; hence early OE. forms like 2 sing. **bindis**, **neris**, **dōemis** (compare Goth. **bindis**, **nasjis**, **dōmeis**); 3 sing. **bindið**, **nerið**, **dōemið** (compare Goth. **bindip**, **nasjip**, **dōmeip**), etc.

This **i** is often preserved in the oldest texts, but then passes, so far as it is retained at all (compare especially 2), into OE. weakened **e** (**44**) in all dialects: 2 sing.

bindes(t), neres(t), dēmes(t); 3 sing. bindeð, nereð, dēmeð, etc.

NOTE 1. In Ep. the **f** prevails wholly, while in Corp. it is replaced by **e** in about one third of the instances. In the 9th-century charters (no examples in those of the 8th) the **e** is already established, as it is in EWS. and Kent. texts, and in Ps. (which has only two **-æð**'s, like **dēmaeð**, beside **-eð**). R.¹ and North., on the other hand, have sporadic **-i**: R.² **gescēadip**, **cymid**, R.² **cymið**, L. **wōnls**, **wyrclð**, Rit. **giscildis**, **-sellð**, etc.

NOTE 2. In consequence of confusion with the endings of the Second Weak Conjugation, North. has, beside regular **e**, also **a**, and more rarely in L. Rit. also **æ**. Hence there occur side by side forms like 2 sing. **bindes** and **bindas**, **-æs** (even **bindeð**, **-að**, **-æð**); 3 sing. **bindeð**, **-es**, and **bindað**, **-æð**, or **bindas**, **-æs**. This confusion also extends to Rit.

2) The full ending for the 2 and 3 sing., **-es**, **-eð**, etc., stands almost unvaryingly in Anglian, while in the southern dialects its **-e-** is more or less regularly syncopated; this is therefore (notwithstanding much variation in the individual southern texts) an important criterion for the determination of dialect.

NOTE 3. Syncope played a greater part in the prehistoric period than in the extant texts. Thus, the fuller forms in **-es**, **-eð**, etc., are not always the direct continuations of the original West Germ. forms, but are to a considerable extent new formations in OE.; this is shown by the lack of **i**-umlaut in the fuller forms of strong verbs (371). The following statements repose upon the actual data of the manuscripts.

NOTE 4. In pure WS. and Kent., syncope is the rule in the case of the long stems, whether strong or weak, the fuller forms constituting the exception. Only in the case of stems ending in mute + liquid or nasal has pure WS. the fuller forms (404, note 1): **frēfrest**, **timbreſt**, **diegleſt**, **bīcneſt**, **-eð**, from **frēfran**, *comfort*; **timbran**, *build*; **dieglan**, *conceal*; **bīcnan**, *signify*, etc. So EWS. regularly **neṃneſt**, **-eð**, beside LWS. **neṃmſt**, **neṃmð**.

NOTE 5. Of the short stems of strong verbs, pure WS. and Kent. generally have syncope, except in the case of the *jo*-verbs (372). The strong *jo*-verbs, and the short-stemmed weak verbs, have their various peculiar rules :

a) The verbs in *p*, *t*, *c* syncopate almost always from an early period : *stæpō*, *sit(t)*, *set(t)*, *þrycō*, from *stæppan*, *march*; *sittan*, *sit*; *settan*, *set*; *þrycc(e)an*, *oppress*; and so probably those in *s*, *h* : *cnyso*, *hlithō*, from *cnyssan*, *smite*; *hliehhan*, *laugh*.

b) The verbs in the sonants, *d*, *f* (= *þ*, 192. 2), and *g*, often vary in the earlier period : *bitt* and *bideō*, *heftō* and *hefeō*, *legō* and *legeō*, from *biddan*, *beseech*; *hebban*, *lift*; and *legc(e)an*, *lay*. At a later time syncope is the rule here, even aside from the early contractions *list*, *liest*; *liō*, *lies* (214. 4).

c) The verbs in the liquids and nasals, *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*, usually have no syncope : *fereō*, *dweleō*, *fremeō*, *þeneō*, from *ferian*, *carry*; *dwellan*, *delay*; *fremmān*, *complete*; *þenian*, *stretch*, etc.; only the verb *sellan*, *sellan* (407. 1) generally has syncope already in EWS.: *seļō* (beside *seleō*).

NOTE 6. Less pure WS. texts, especially those transcribed from Anglian originals, often show a larger percentage of full forms, and these may under some circumstances prevail to the more or less complete exclusion of the syncopated forms. For the poetical texts see Beitr. 10. 464 ff.

NOTE 7. Of the Anglian texts, Ps. has only a few forms with syncope — twice after *r*, *l*, three times in contract verbs : *ācers ōu*, *seļō*; *gefihtō* (*gefiht*), *gefōht*, from *cerran*, *sellan*, *gefeon*, *fōn*; in R.¹ *cwiō*, *dicit*, *inquit*, *ait*, is common (but this is perhaps to be understood as *cwiō*, contracted from **cwipip* through loss of the first *p*); other syncopated forms are sporadic : *seļō*, *cymō*, *gewyrō*, *bit*; *slæhp*, *fōhp*, from *sellan*, *cuman*, *weorðan*, *biddan*, *slēan*, *fōn*. Much slighter and more doubtful are the traces in the North. texts (once *gehērs ōu*, *audis*; *gehēht* vel *hæt*, *imperat* L.).

3) In the Second Weak Conjugation *a* is the normal vowel of the ending, which therefore is *-as*, *-aō*. For details on this point see 412.

359. In consequence of syncope, radical final consonants are brought into immediate contact with the

-s(t), and -þ, -ð, of the ending. This occasions a series of changes in the form of the word, partly affecting the radical syllable, and partly the ending. The principal cases are as follows:

1) Gemination at the end of the radical syllable is simplified: **winnan, winst, winð**; **feallan, fielst, fielð**; **hliehhan, hliehst, hliehð**; **yppan, ypst, ypð**, etc.

2) **d** before the -s(t) of the second person is usually converted by phonetic law to **t**: **biddan, bitst**; **rædan, ræstst**; after consonants: **findan, fintst**; **stōndan, stēntst**; **wealdan, wiertst**; **andwyrðan, andwyrstst**, etc.; but the etymological spelling with **d** often replaces it: **bidst, rædst, findst**, etc. In later texts the **d** is often lost after consonants: **finst, stēnst, hylst, holdest**; **gylst, repayest** (from **healdan, gyldan**), etc.

NOTE 1. Even radical **t** occasionally disappears after a consonant before the -s(t) of the 2 sing.: compare LWS. forms like **ēhst, tihst, ēfst**, beside **ēhtst**, etc., from **ēhtan, persecute**; **tihtan, warn**; **ēfstan, hasten**, etc.

3) **d** and **t** are fused with the -þ, -ð of the 3 sing. to **t**, which often becomes **tt** after vowels, especially in the older period: **findan, fint**; **berstan, birst**; **biddan, bit(t)**; **bīdan, bīt(t)**; **etan, it(t)**; weak **sēndan, sēnt**; **fæstan, fæst** (EWS. likewise **fæsð**, 196.1); **grētan, grēt(t)**; **hwēttan, hwēt(t)**, etc.

NOTE 2. Occasionally the older texts have the half etymological spelling **dt**, as in **bidt**, or **d** alone in the case of verbs in **d**: **hȳd**, from **hȳdan, hide**.

NOTE 3. **bregdan, brandish** (389), and the weak **stregdan, scatter**, have in the 3 sing. the forms **britt** (**bryt, bret**) and **stret(t)**.

4) **g** after a long vowel or **r, l** frequently (especially in later texts) becomes **h** before the -s(t), and -þ, -ð

(214. 1): **stigan**, **stigst**, **stigð**, and **stihst**, **stihð**; **swelgan**, **swilgst**, **swilgð**, and **swilhst**, **swilhð** (or **swelhst**, **swelhð**, 371, note 3; on forms like **swylcð** see note 6).

NOTE 4. After a short vowel LWS. **g** usually persists, so that forms like **wihð**, **wehð**, from **wegan**, occur only sporadically.

NOTE 5. In LWS., **ne** occurs not infrequently for **ng** (215): **bringan**, **bringst**, **bringð**, and **brincst**, **brincð**, etc. For the converse, **ng** for etymological **ne**, see 215, note 1.

5) **c** following a vowel often passes in the later language into **h** before the **-s(t)**, and **-þ**, **-ð**, but this is almost wholly confined to weak verbs: **sēcan**, **tācan**, **ðryccan**, 2 sing. **sēhst**, **tāhst**, **pryhð**, etc.; but more generally the etymological spelling **est**, **cð** is retained.

NOTE 6. That the **est**, **cð** was nevertheless pronounced **hst**, **hð** in LWS. is shown by the occasional substitution of **cð** for older **hð** and **gð** (see 4, above), as in **geðicð**, **áfecð**; **fliecð**, **forswylcð**, from **geðeon**, *succeed*; **onfōn**, *receive*; **fliegan**, *rout*; **swelgan**, *swallow*.

6) **þ + þ** is always simplified after consonants, and usually after vowels: **weorðan**, **wierð**; **cweðan**, **cwið**; **cýðan**, **cýð(ð)**, etc.

NOTE 7. Before the **-st** of the 2 sing. **þ** may pass into **t**, or else be preserved (or restored): **snīðan**, **snītst** and **snīðst**, etc.

In **weorðan**, *become*, and **cweðan**, *speak*, **ð** generally disappears: **wierst** (**wyrst**), **cwist**; but also LWS. **cwyðst**, **cweðst**, beside **cwyst**, **cwest**, etc.

7) **s**, **ss**, and **st** coalesce with the **-s(t)** of the 2 sing. to simple **st**, and in like manner **x** (= **hs**, 221. 2) + **st** to **xt**: **cēosan**, **ciest**; **cyssan**, **cyst**; **reðtan**, **reðt**; **weaxan**, **wyxt**, etc.

8) **s + þ** gives regularly **st** (201. 6), as in **cēosan**, **ciest**, etc.; hence also forms like **weaxan**, **wiext**, etc. For this **st** (**xt**) certain EWS. texts also have **sð** (**xð**):

ciesð, wiexð, etc. When such an **sð, xð** appears elsewhere, it is to be regarded as an etymological spelling.

NOTE 8. By the conversion of **sp** to **st** the syncopated forms of the 2 and 3 sing. of verbs in **s, ss, x,** and **st** become identical: **cēosan, ðú and hé ciest; cyssan, ðú and hé cyst; weaxan, ðú and hé wiext; restan, ðú and hé rest, etc.**

NOTE 9. After other consonants than **s, t** occurs very seldom for **p**, Kent. showing the earliest examples: Kent. Gl. of **ðrect, gehyðlæt; Boeth. fiht; Metres drift, seýft, from ðryccan, oppress; edlācan, repeat; flēon, flee; drifan, drive; scūfan, shove; but Cura Past. has an ypt, from yppan, open. Compare also Angl. Ps. gefiht, gefēht (358, note 7).**

360. 1) All three persons of the ind. pres. plur., together with the imp. 2 plur., end in **-að** (for ***-anþl, *-onþ, *-ōþ, 186, note 3; the -and** of 3 plur. of the Goth. has grammatical change): **bindað, neþiað, dēmað, lōci(g)að, etc.**

The **-ð** of these forms is stable in the same degree as that of the 3 sing. (357); only in North. it interchanges even in this case with **-s**: **bindað** and **bindas, etc.**

NOTE 1. Rare and doubtful (357, note 2) is sporadic **d**: Ps. **seðað, L. -delfað. Somewhat more common is -t: Corp. teldat, flitāt, Cura Past. (MS. H) lārat, bodiat; Kent. Gl. berēfat, etc.**

NOTE 2. The **a** of the ending is stable in the southern texts and in Ps., with rare exceptions: Kent. Gl. **riseð, tódēleð; Cod. Dipl. gehaldeð; Cura Past. gehāteð, gefealleð; or Cod. Dipl. bellimpoð,** which are to be regarded as mere clerical errors, at least in part. On the other hand, **e**, beside **a**, is numerously represented in North. and R.¹; the resulting **-eð, -es** is comparatively rare in R.² and Rit., but very common in L. and R.¹, which likewise exhibits **-aþ, -eþ, or -igæþ.**

2) If, in the inverted word-order, a 1 or 2 plur. of the verb is followed by **wé, wit,** or **gé, git,** as its subject, shorter forms in **-e** are frequently substituted for the

full ending of the paradigms: **binde wé, wit, or gé, git**, as ind. plur. or opt. pres.; **binde wé** as adhortative imp. 1 plur.; **binde gé** as imp. 2 plur.; or **bunde wé, gé** as ind. plur. or opt. pret. In like manner forms without ending, as in **dō wé, gé**, etc., occur in the case of the contract verbs (373) and the verbs in **-mi** (426 ff.).

NOTE 3. In WS. **-e** is stable as the ending of all these briefer forms; at most it happens that in LWS. verbs of the Second Weak Conjugation a further shortening of the 2 plur. is now and then found: **fandl gé, forhti gé**, for and beside forms like **fandlge gé, forhtige gé** (so also R.¹ **forhti gé**, R.² **Horni gé**). It is to be noted that the inverted form for the ind. **wé, gé habbað** is **hæbbe wé, hæbbe gé** (with the vowel of the optative, cf. note 4).

Merc., too, has only **-e**, even for **-un** (compare, for example, forms like R.¹ **ðurfe wé, scule gé**; Ps. has only twice the adhortative **wynsumle wé**). In North., R.² has exceptionally **-a** and **-o** in the adhortative **gonga wé**, ind. **cunno gé** (but **gisēge wé**); L. **-a** (**-æ**), **-u**, **-o**: **walla wé**; **wyrca** (**-æ**) **wé**; **leornada** (**-æ**) **gīe**; **maga gīe**, or **nabbo wé**; **saldo gīe**; **aru, nutu wé**, etc.; before **g** also **i**: **cunni, nuti, hæfdi gīe** (also without ending: **onenæu, oncnēaw gīe**), but usually **-e**; Rit. has **-e** and **-a** (but a sporadic adhortative **loruv wé, curramus**).

NOTE 4. The shortening originally affected only the verbal forms in **-n**, that is, the adhortative forms of the present (the true adh. **-an** of the 1 plur., as well as the opt. **-en**, the latter used especially for the negated imperative, cf. 362. 3), the optative, and the preterit (including the present of the preteritive presents). From these **-n**-forms the shortening spread by analogy to the original **-að**-forms. Here the opt. seems to have served as a model for the ind. (compare WS. **hæbbe wé**, note 3, but also forms like ind. **habbon wé**, imp. **nallon gīe**, beside **nallað gé** R.²).

NOTE 5. The transfer of the shorter forms to the ind. and true imp. occurred on a large scale only in the south; in Cura Past. the **-e** already prevails. The Anglian dialects, on the other hand, while they exhibit numerous shortened forms for older **-en, -an, -un**, preserve older **-að wé, gé** for the most part unchanged; yet R.¹ has exceptionally an ind. **sitte git**, R.² an ind. **forstōnde wé** (compare also ind. **habbon wé**, imp. **nallon gīe**, beside the regular **nallað gīe**); L. an

ind. *nabbo wé*, *walla wé* and *walli gīe*. Somewhat more numerous are the shortened forms of Rit., where the basic Latin word points to an ind. pres.

361. The oldest form of the ending of the opt. pres. is sing. *-æ*, plur. *-æn*, replaced later by *-e*, *-en* in all the OE. dialects, according to 44: *binde*, *nērie*, *dēme*, *lōci(g)e*, plur. *-en*, etc.

NOTE 1. The *-e*, *-en* prevail throughout EWS., with the exception of a few sporadic *-æn*'s, *-an*'s. The latter subsequently becomes more frequent; in LWS., too, the ending *-on*, *-en* intrudes from the pret. (365).

In Kent. Gl. there is one *-on* in the plur., beside the prevalent *-an*.

Ps. has, beside regular *-e*, *-en*, one example each of *áfremðæ* and *dōa*; R.¹ in the sing. generally *-e*, more rarely *-æ* (*-e*) and *-a*; in the plur. the *-n* is lacking in about half of the instances (compare North.); the *n*-forms are: generally *-an*, more rarely *-en* (*-on*); those without *-n* are: generally *-e*, more rarely *-æ*.

In North. the *-n* of the plur. regularly disappears, so that the plur. becomes identical with the sing.; the ending is *-a*, beside *-e* (in L. also *-æ*).

NOTE 2. On the loss of plural *-n* before personal pronouns see 360. 2, with notes 3 ff.

362. 1) The imp. 2 sing. of strong verbs has no ending, except in the case of the short-stemmed *jo*-verbs (372); these, like the original short stems of the First Weak Class, have in Early OE. the ending *-i*, Common OE. *-e*, while the corresponding long stems are without termination (133. c; 410. 3).

2) The adhortative form of the imp. 1 plur. in *-an* is rather rare; in many documents it is supplanted by the corresponding optative in *-en*.

3) The imp. 2 plur. is like the ind. 2 plur. (360. 1); but it is often replaced in negative sentences by the optative (360, note 4).

NOTE. On the shortening of imperative forms before the personal pronouns which form their subjects see 360. 2, with notes 3 ff.

363. 1) The normal ending of the uninflected infinitive is **-an**: *bindan*, *neŕian*, *dēman*, *lōci(g)an*, etc. This holds for all the southern dialects, up to and inclusive of the Ps. In R.¹ the loss of **-n** begins, and this becomes the rule in North. (**188. 2**).

NOTE 1. The EWS. documents have a few sporadic instances of **-on** for **-an**; in Kent. Gl. the former are somewhat more numerous, and they occur sporadically in less pure WS. texts. In Ps. **-an** is entirely stable. R.¹ has, beside predominant **-an**, rarely **-en**, **-on**, **-un**, beside shortened forms in **-e**, more rarely **-a**, **-æ**. R.² L. Rit. have generally **-a**, more rarely **-e**, and L. occasionally **-æ**: *binda* (**-æ**), *binde*, etc.

2) The original ending of the inflected infinitive was probably unlauted **-enne** (cf. ŌS. infinitives like *liagan-nias*, etc.). Yet this form is soon replaced, in a greater or less degree, by **-anne**, which stands nearer to the uninflected inf. in **-an**.

NOTE 2. In Ps. there are as yet no forms in **-anne**, but on the other hand they already prevail in the EWS. texts, as well as in R.¹ and in North. Beside **-anne** is occasionally found EWS. **-onne** (compare Corp. *gelēstunne*). The **nn** is now and then simplified (**231. 4**), so that forms in **-ene**, **-ane** arise (also in R.¹ and North.). In LWS. **-enne** again prevails; very late texts have also **-ende**.

NOTE 3. The uninflected inf. rarely occurs in the prose after *tō*, in place of the inflected: *tō bindan*, for *tō bindenne*, **-anne**, etc. For the poetry the shorter forms are to be assumed in greater measure, as the metre shows.

3) The Common OE. ending of the pres. part. is **-ende** = Early OE. **-ændi**, **-endi** Ep. (sporadic *hlæoð-rindi* Ep.), which is unlauted from West Germ. **-andi**: *bindende*, *neŕiende*, *dēmende*, *lōci(g)ende*, etc.

NOTE 4. In pure WS. **-ende** is entirely stable, but in less pure WS. texts **-onde** occurs sporadically; so once in Kent. Gl. *sāwondum* (beside frequent **-ende**), Kent. Charter *dugunde*. Ps. has only **-ende**, R.¹ more rarely **-ande**, **-onde**, **-ænde**, beside **-ende**. North. has

-ende (-ænde), and **-ande** without umlaut, side by side; the latter especially in the Second Class of weak verbs (412, note 11).

364. 1) The ind. pret. 2 sing. of strong verbs ends regularly in **e**, for Early OE. ***-i** (= OS. OHG. **-i**); that of the weak verbs in orig. **-dæs**, Common OE. **-des(t)** (356).

NOTE 1. Now and then the **e** of the strong verbs is lost immediately before the pronoun **þú**: **cōm þú**, **drunc þú**, **æ̅t þú**, **druh þú**, **gewic þú**, for **cōme**, **drunce**, **æ̅te**, **druge**, **gewice þú**.

NOTE 2. In North. certain Reduplicating Verbs (in **t**) form the ind. pret. 2 sing. in **-es**, **-est**: L. **hēhtes**, **forleortes** (beside **forleorte**), Rit. **gihēhtest**, **gileortest**; R.¹ **forlētes**, beside **sēwe**, **gesēowe**.

NOTE 3. For the **i**-umlaut of the ind. pret. 2 sing. see 377.

2) The oldest ending of the ind. pret. plur. is **-un**, for which later occur **-on** and **-an**.

NOTE 4. Of the oldest texts, Ep. has only **-un** (there is one doubtful **-on**), while Corpus has numerous **-on**'s, beside the prevalent **-un**. In EWS. **-un** is already rare, especially in Or. The prevalent form is **-on**, beside which **-an** is already found, frequently in Or., rarely in Cura Past. and Chron. In Kent. Gl. and Kent. Ps. **-on** and **-an** are about equally represented. — In Merc. **-un** is predominant; Ps. has also frequently **-on**, especially in the weak pret., and again particularly in the Second Class, very rarely **-an**. In R.¹ **-an** encroaches somewhat more upon **-un**, **-on**, and there are sporadic instances of **-en** and **-æn**. — Of the North. texts, R.² frequently has **-un**, but also **-on**, while **-on** is prevalent in L. and Rit., L. having also a few instances of **-un** (**-an**, **-en**), but Rit. only one each of **-an** and **-en**.

Apocope of final **-n** does not generally occur in North. in R.² L. Rit. (but **elioppodo** L. Luke 23. 21; **fē̅rdo** Mark 16. 8; **gehē̅rdo** Mark I 2. 18; **cuōmo** John 19. 32); Ruthwell Cross has **bismærædu**, **cwōmu**.

365. The opt. pret. has in the sing. the ending **-e**: **bunde**, **nerede**, **dē̅mde**, **lō̅code**, etc.; in the plur. **-en**: **bunden**, etc., quite distinct from that of the indicative. Rather early, however, the **-on**, **-an**, of the indicative begins to invade the territory of the optative (**-un** does not appear till LWS.).

NOTE 1. The oldest ending must be assumed as sing. *-i, plur. *-in (compare forms like OS. OHG. *nāmi*, *nāmīn*), though these *i*-forms do not actually appear in OE.

NOTE 2. In EWS. -on, -an are no longer very rare; beside these, there are occasional forms in -e without -n, which probably, however, are corrupt.

In Ps. the ending -en is preserved intact, while R.¹ varies between -en, -an, -un, (-on), and -e with loss of -n, as in North.

The North. normal form is -e (188. 2), but in L. also -o and -on, with more or less complete approach to the indicative.

NOTE 3. In later texts (and also in Rit.), the opt. 2 sing. is identical with the ind. 2 sing.: *neṛedest*, *dēmedest*, etc.

366. 1) The past participle of verbs without a prefix consisting of a preposition or particle is usually formed with the particle *ge-*, Early OE. *gi-*, as in German: *gebunden*, *geṇered*, *gedēmed*, *gelōcod*, etc. Yet forms without *ge* are also found.

NOTE 1. The prefixion of the *gi-*, *ge-* originally depended on syntactical considerations, but in OE. it has already become partly stereotyped as a merely formal principle.

2) The past part. of strong verbs has throughout OE. the ending -en: (ge)bunden, etc.; but the dialects also occasionally have -an, -on, -un.

NOTE 2. The OE. -en corresponds partly to Early OE. -æn (-en), partly to Early OE. -in, both of which occur side by side in the oldest texts: Ep. *binumini*, *forleginum*, but *gibæn*, *ásolcæn*, *gibēatæn*, *áuunden*, etc. Corp. has also -on-, in *geborone*, *getogone*. This vowel-change belongs to suffixal ablaut (128. 2).

NOTE 3. The ending -en is stable in pure WS., and also in Ps. and North. (except for a few instances of North. -æn; but R.¹ has, beside -en, also -æn, -an, -un, R.² -on-, -un- (*gibrocono*, *gicorone*, *gīnumune*).

3) For the terminations of weak verbs see 402; 406; 414; 415; 416.

II. STRONG VERBS

A. THE CONJUGATION OF THE STRONG VERB

367. Paradigms.

1. ACTIVE

1) Regular Verbs

PRESENT

Indicative

Sing. 1.	binde	fare	helpe	bidde
2.	bindest, bintst	fær(e)st	hilp(e)st	bidest, bitst
3.	bindeð, bint	fær(e)ð	hilp(e)ð	bideð, bit
Plur.	bindað	farað	helpað	biddað

Optative

Sing.	binde	fare	helpe	bidde
Plur.	binden	faren	helpen	bidden

Imperative

Sing. 2.	bind	(fær), far	help	bide
Plur. 1.	bindan	faran	helpan	biddan
2.	bindað	farað	helpað	biddað

Infinitive

bindan	faran	helpan	biddan
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Participles

bindende	farende	helpende	biddende
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PRETERIT

Indicative

Sing. 1.	bōnd	fōr	healp	bæd
2.	bunde	fōre	hulpe	bæde
3.	bōnd	fōr	healp	bæd
Plur.	bundon	fōron	hulpon	bædon

Optative

Sing.	bunde	fōre	hulpe	bæde
Plur.	bunden	fōren	hulpen	bæden

Participles

bunden	faren	holpen	beden
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2) Contract Verbs

PRESENT

Indicative

Sing. 1.	tēo	tēo	sēo	slēa	fō
2.	tīehst	tīehst	siehst	sliehst	fēhst
3.	tīehð	tīehð	siehð	sliehð	fēhð
Plur.	tēoð	tēoð	sēoð	slēað	fōð

Optative

Sing.	tēo	tēo	sēo	slēa	fō
Plur.	tēon	tēon	sēon	slēan	fōn

Imperative

Sing. 2.	tēoh	tēoh	seoh	slēah	fōh
Plur. 1.	tēon	tēon	sēon	slēan	fōn
2.	tēoð	tēoð	sēoð	slēað	fōð

Infinitive

tēon	tēon	sēon	slēan	fōn
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Participles

tēonde	tēonde	sēonde	slēande	fōnde
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PRETERIT

Indicative

Sing. 1.	tāh	tēah	seah	slōg, -h	feng
2.	tige	tuge	sāwe	slōge	fenge
3.	tāh	tēah	seah	slōg, -h	feng
Plur.	tigon	tugon	sāwon	slōgon	fengon

Optative

Sing.	tige	tuge	sāwe	slōge	fenge
Plur.	tigen	tugen	sāwen	slōgen	fengen

Participles

tigen	togen	sewen	slāgen	fōngen
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2. PASSIVE

Ind. 1 and 3 Sing.: hātte

Plur.: hātton

NOTE. **hātte** corresponds to the Goth. **haltada**, *I am called*; the plur. **hātton** is constructed on the model of the weak preterits. Both forms are used indifferently as presents and preterits.

1) PRESENT

Regular Verbs

368. Like **bindan**, **faran**, and **helpan** are conjugated all the regular strong verbs, as well of the Ablaut as of the Reduplicating Class.

1) With **bindan** are to be grouped all the verbs whose radical vowel undergoes neither **i-** nor **u-** or **o/a-**umlaut, including Class I (**382**) and Class III. 1 (**386. 1**) of Ablaut Verbs, and such of the Reduplicating Verbs as have the radical vowel **æ** = Germ. **æ**, Goth. **ē** (**395. 2. a**).

2) Like **faran** are inflected the strong verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class (**392**), in so far as they have radical **a** before a single consonant, liable to interchange with **æ** (**50**; **89. 3**).

* NOTE 1. On the interchange of **a** and **æ** in the ind. prés. see **371**, note 2; on corresponding North. forms, **371**, note 8; on possible **u-** or **o/a-**umlaut, **370**, note 1; on **scea-** for **scæ-** and **sca-**, **75. 1** and **76. 2**.

NOTE 2. All the instances of the imp. 2 sing. in pure WS. have the vowel **a**, due to the polysyllabic forms with rightful **a** (**49**, note 2): **far** (as early as Cura Past.), **sac**, etc. From **sc(e)afan** comes **scaf**, beside **scæf** and regular **sceaf**. In Anglian, on the other hand, we have the forms which ought properly to be expected: Ps. **fer**, R.¹ **fær**, R.² L. Rit. **fær**.

NOTE 3. In the opt. and pres. part. the vowel **a** prevails in WS., though there are occasional participles in **æ**, like **færende** Or. In Ps. the opt. does not occur (on the participle see **370**, note 1). R.¹ and North. generally have **æ**: R.¹ **ondsæce**, **færende**, R.² **fære**, **sæccende**, L. **fære**, **sæcce** (but once **ðú hlada**) and **færende**, **drægend**, **sceæccende**, Rit. **fære**, **sæccende**.

NOTE 4. The EWS. past part. fluctuates between **a** and **æ**; the latter is preferred in **hæfen** and the verbs with medial **g**, but there is much variation in detail: Cura Past. **gedafen**, **-faren**, **belagen**, **-sacen** (only sporadic **gedæfen-**, **-færen**); generally **hæfen**, more

rarely *hafen*, and always *slægen*, *ŭwægen*; Or. always *faren*, generally *hæfen*, *slægen*, more rarely *hafen*, *slagen*, and *sæcen*, beside *sacen*; Chron. only *-slægen*. In pure LWS. the *a* is generally stable: *faren*, *calen*, *hafen*, *bacen*, *slagen*; less pure texts, and especially the poetry, have also frequently *æ*. After *sc*, WS. *ea* is regular: *sceacen*, *sceapen*, etc. (poet. *scæcen* points to an Angl. original).

Kent. Gl. has only a few occurrences of *áhafen*. Ps. has only *e*-forms (151. 1), beside one *galen*: *scēcen*, *slegen*, *hēfen*, *scēpen*; in R.¹ and North., too, *a* is uniformly wanting (except for the participial adjective *gefagen* L., 391, note 6): R.¹ *færen*, *hæfen*, *slægen* (beside umlauted *unŭwegen*), R.² *hæfen*, *slægen*, *ŭwægen*, *sæcen*, L. *hæfen*, *slægen*, *sæccen* (beside *hēfen*, *ŭwegen*), Rit. *slægen*, *sc(e)æccen*, *scæpen* (beside *hēfen*). On forms with umlaut-*e*, and other occasional variations, see 378. 2; 392, note 7.

3) The various rules for breaking, umlaut, the effects of palatals and gutturals, etc., must always be considered.

369. Verbs with breaking, like *weorpan* (388), *feallan* (396. 1. *a*), preserve it through all forms of the present, but frequently modified in the ind. 2 and 3 sing. by *i*-umlaut (371).

370. *u*- and *o/a*-umlaut do not occur in pure WS., but do in Kent. and Angl., according to 103 ff.; 160. Here fall 1) the ind. 1 sing. in *-u*, *-o*; 2) the inf. in *-an*, the ind. and imp. plur. in *-aŭ*, and to some extent the pres. part. in *-ende* (363. 3, with note 4).

NOTE 1. The verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class with radical *a*, like *faran* (392), have in Ps. (160. 4) carried this umlaut through with scarcely an exception: 1 sing. *fearu*, plur. *fearaŭ*, *hleadaŭ*; part. *fearende*; beside *galendra*, and *tōscæcendes* (162, note 2). R.¹, on the other hand, has *a* and *æ* side by side (371, note 8), without observing any principle: 1 sing. *sace*, *sæce*, inf. *faran*, *færan*, imp. *áscakep*, *ferep*.

NOTE 2. The verbs of the Fourth and Fifth Ablaut-Classes, with radical e, like **beran** (390), **etan** (391), follow approximately these normal paradigms:

	WS.	Ps.	NORTH.
Infinitive:	beran	beoran	beora, beara
Pres. Part.:	berende	beorende	berende
Ind. Sing. 1.	bere	beoru	bero
2.	bir(e)st	bires	beres
3.	bir(e)ð	bireð	bereð, -es
Plur.	berað	beorað	beorað, bearað, -as
Optative:	bere	bere	bere
Imp. Sing. 2.	ber	ber	ber
Plur.	berað	beorað	beorað, bearað, -as

Where forms with **eo**, like **beoran**, **beorað**, **beorende**, occur in WS. texts, they point either to a less pure dialect or to an intrusion of alien forms.

NOTE 3. Kent. has (Cod. Dipl.): 1 sing. **geofu**, inf. **geofan** (**glaban**), **geotan**; then, with transfer of the **eo**, also opt. **breoce**, plur. **ágeofofen**; Kent. Gl. has imp. plur. **onglotað**.

NOTE 4. In Ps. the **eo** is kept throughout, strictly according to the paradigm, even, by analogy, in the verbs whose stem ends in a guttural: **spreocu**, **-að**, **-an**, **-ende** (164, note 2); the only exceptions are one **sprecu** and one **bigetað**. In R.¹ there is, on the other hand, great confusion, the **eo**-forms being already pressed back by those with **e**.

NOTE 5. In North., **eo** is the normal form of the umlaut for R.², which has only a few **ea**'s, while, on the other hand, **ea** is the norm for L. and Rit., in which the **eo** is correspondingly rare. Transfer of the **eo** to corresponding forms of the guttural verbs occurs frequently in R.², but is not common elsewhere (164, note 2).

NOTE 6. The North. 1 sing. has given up its umlaut (which is still preserved a few times in R.²: **spreoco**, **cweoðo**), by analogy with the **e**-forms of the present. Elsewhere, too, there are attempts at such leveling, either the **eo** or the **e** exceeding its just bounds in the paradigm (thus, ind. 2 and 3 sing., or opt., or part., with **eo**, **ea**; or inf., ind. imp. plur., with **e**, etc.). Whether the not altogether uncommon appearance of **æ** for **e** (391, note 5) is related to these shiftings, is doubtful.

NOTE 7. To WS. *cweðan* regularly corresponds North. R.² *cweoða* (*cweaða*), Rit. *cvæða*, *cvæða* (ind. 1 sing. *cvīðo*); L. has a medley: *cucæða* (*cœða*), *cueða*, *cueaða*, *cuæða*, *cuoaða*, and *cuoða*, *coða*; but for WS. *wesan* North. has uniformly R.² *wosa*, L. *wos(s)a*, Rit. *vos(s)a* (156. 2; 427. 3).

NOTE 8. The *i*-verbs resemble the *e*-verbs with respect to the umlaut: *niman* (390, note 2), *ripan*, **wisan*, and North. *grioppa* (382, note 3).

371. *i*-umlaut (including the early interchange of *e* and *i*, 92) properly belongs only to the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing., and is often found in these two forms in the southern dialects, especially so far as it coincides with syncope of the vowel which caused it (358.2). Not infrequently, however, there is a substitution of the unchanged vowel belonging to the other present forms; in this respect there is no unanimity among the various dialects.

NOTE 1. In the ejection of umlaut-forms, two strata are to be distinguished: an earlier (already represented in the oldest texts, and especially characteristic of Anglian), accompanied by restoration of the full form of the inflectional ending, *-es(t)*, *-eð* (358, note 3), and a later (restricted to the south), in which syncopated forms lose the umlaut.

NOTE 2. The earliest documents of pure WS., like the Cura Past., exhibit umlaut of every vowel capable of undergoing it, in all forms constructed in the original manner; thus in the syncopated forms of long stems: *helpan*, *hīlpð*; *weorpan*, *wierpð*; *weaxan*, *wīexð*; *feallan*, *fīeð*; *stōndan*, *stēt*; *cnāwan*, *cnāwð*; *hātan*, *hāet*; *fīōwan*, *fīēwð*; *lūcan*, *līcð*; *lūtan*, *līt*; *hēawan*, *hīewð*; *cēosan*, *cīesð*, etc. So, too, in the case of short stems, whether exhibiting syncope or not: *beran*, *bīreð* and *bīrð*; *etan*, *itt*; *brecan*, *brīcð*; *cuman*, *cymð*, etc. In the case of the latter it is to be observed that the verbs with radical *e* for *i* already have sporadic instances of the *y* which becomes more common in LWS. (*byrð*, *brycð*, *sprycð* Cura Past. MS. C), and that the verbs with radical *a*, *o* have the umlaut-form *æ* (89. 3): *fær(e)ð*, *drægð*, *sæcð*, *spænð*, from *faran*, *dragan*, *sacan*, *spōnan* (but MS. H of Cura Past. has one *fereð* and one *spenð*).

Beside these ancient forms, however, EWS. has a few newly constituted full forms without umlaut, but only from long stems: **weorpeð**, **hāteð**, **flōweð**, etc. (a short-stemmed **heleð** Cura Past. is to be assigned to **heľan**, 400, note 2). Only sporadically occur full forms with umlaut (2 sing. **hætest**, **wyrðest** Cura Past.), and shortened forms without umlaut (**hrēowð**, **weaxð**, **weoxð** MS. H of Cura Past.).

NOTE 3. The pure LWS. documents also regularly preserve the umlaut, so far as they syncopate the vowel of the final syllable, except that the verbs with radical e and ea frequently have the unumlauted vowel in LWS.: **beran**, **berst**, **berð**; **etan**, **etst**, **et**; **helpan**, **helpst**, **helpð**; **feallan**, **fealst**, **fealð**; **weaxan**, **weaxð**, **wexð** (108. 2); also **bēatan**, **bēatst**. Other syncopated forms without umlaut are very rare: **stant**, **flōwð**, **lūcð**, for **stęnt**, **flēwð** (or LWS. **flēowð**, 113, note 3), **lȳcð**. Beside these, the full forms without umlaut still persist, especially in less pure WS. texts (358, note 6).

NOTE 4. As in Kent. older **ēo** and its i-umlaut, **īo**, phonetically coincide as **ēo**, **īo**, **īa**, etc. (159. 5), it follows that all verbs with radical **ēo** apparently have forms without umlaut in the 2 and 3 sing.: Kent. Gl. **weorð**, **weorpeð**, **siohð** (374); **bīot**, **hrēosð** (**hrīosð**, **hrīasð**), **tīohð** (374), from **weorðan**, **weorpan**, **sēon**; **bēodan**, **hrēosan**, **tēon** (exceptionally once **flīð**, from **flēon**, *flee*).

The older interchange of e and i in the verbs of the Third Ablaut-Class with radical e is canceled by analogy in Kent. Gl.: **gelts**, **gelpð**, **swel(h)ð**, from **geldan**, **gelpan**, **swelgan** (**tret**, *calcabit*, belongs rather to the weak verb **treddan**). In other respects the umlaut remains unaffected.

NOTE 5. In Anglian the umlaut becomes more and more restricted, on account of the introduction of the full forms of the ending. It is everywhere kept only in the contract verbs (373; 374) and the verbs in **-mi** (426 ff.).

NOTE 6. Of the Merc. texts, Ps. still consistently observes the early interchange of e (eo) and i: **beoran**, **bireð**; **cweoðan**, **cwið**; **geldan**, **gildeð**; **stregdan**, **strigdeð** (so also **feolan**, **fileð**, with loss of h, 218. 1); then the umlaut in **cuman**, **cymes**, **-eð** (390, note 2) and the interchange of a, ea with e, which is not clearly explainable: **fearan**, **fereð**. As for the rest, full forms without umlaut prevail: **weorpeð**, **falleð**, **stondeð**, **cnāweð**, **flōweð**, **lūceð**, **cēoseð**, etc.

On the other hand, R.¹ retains only **cuman**, **cym(e)þ**; **onsækeþ** (compare WS. **onsacan**); sporadic **gewyrð**, from **-weorðan**; (**gewyrfeþ**;

demolitur?); even the interchange of *e* and *i* is given up: *helpeð*, *bereþ*, *eteþ*, etc. (only sporadically yet *cwið*, 358, note 7).

NOTE 7. North. has an isolated *cuiðestu*, *numquid* L., as a relic of the interchange of *e* and *i*; then, as relics of the true *i*-umlaut, *cuma*, *cymeð*, and perhaps the interchange of *a* and *æ* in the verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class, like *fara*, *færeð* (but cf. notes 8, 9). But the verbs with radical *e* and *i* before a single consonant distinguish themselves from the inf. and the plural forms by the lack of *u*- and *o/a*-umlaut (370): *beora*, *beara* — *bereð*; *eota*, *eata* — *eteð*; *nioma* — *nimeð*, etc., so far at least as leveling has not occurred (370, note 6).

NOTE 8. In the verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class in R.¹ and North., the *æ* of the 2 and 3 sing. has to a considerable degree been made general: R.¹ inf. *færan*, beside *faran*, imp. plur. *fereþ*, etc.; R.² inf. *fara*, 1 sing. *færo*, opt. sing. plur. *fære*, imp. plur. *farað*; L. inf. *fara* (*færa*), 1 sing. *færo*, imp. plur. *færas*, opt. *fære*, etc.

NOTE 9. On anomalies in the conjugation of *cuman* see 390, note 2.

Verbs in -jo-

372. Like *biddan* are inflected the verbs *sittan*, *fricg(e)an*, *licg(e)an* (391. 3), *hebban*, *hliehhan* (Ps. *hlæh(h)an*, North. *hlæh(h)a*, 159. 3), *sceppan* (Kent. Angl. *sceppan*, North. -a, 159. 1), *stæppan* (89, note 1, but Rit. *stæpa*), *sceððan* (392. 4), which form their present in Germ. with *jo*. The discrepancies are confined to the present, which conforms in all respects to the conjugation of the short-stemmed weak verbs of the First Class (paradigm *frēmman*, 409).

The paradigm *nerian* (409) is followed by the strong verb *swerian* (392. 4); the paradigm of the long stems, *dēman* (differing from that of the strong verbs only by the invariable umlaut of the radical syllable), is followed by *wēpan*, *weep*, and perhaps *gierran* (388, note 1) and **hwēsan* (**hwæsan*?) (396. 2. b).

NOTE. In North. the imp. sing. of the short stems is generally devoid of ending: R.² *sitt* and *site*; L. *gibidd*, *lig*, *sitt*, beside *suere*; Rit. *hef*, *gibidd*, beside *gibidde*. So also in R.¹ *hef*, *swer*, beside *bidde*, *lige*, *site*. Cf. 410, note 5.

In LWS. -a is occasionally found in the imp. *swera*, from *swerian*, on the analogy of weak verbs of the Second Class (cf. also 400, note 3).

Contract Verbs

373. Contract verbs are those in vowel or diphthong + h; the h was lost before vowels (218), and the adjoining vowels were then contracted. Here belong the following verbs, arranged by Ablaut-Classes: I *tēon*, *ðēon*, *wrēon*, *lēon*, *sēon* (383); II *flēon*, *tēon* (384); V *gefēon*, *plēon*, *sēon* (391. 2); VI *flēan*, *lēan*, *slēan*, *ðwēan* (392. 2); and the reduplicating *fōn*, *hōn* (395).

374. In WS. and Kent. the h is retained in the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing., which have the i-umlaut and synco-pated ending, and in the imp. 2 sing. (compare the paradigm, 367); in Anglian, however, it is regularly found only in the imp. sing. (166. 6; 222. 1; 358, note 7).

NOTE 1. In Kent. there are occasional forms without h: Kent. Gl. *forsioð*, *áflīð*, from *sēon*, *flēon*, beside *forsiohð*, *slehst*, *slēhð*, *onfēhð*, *oferwrihð*, *átiohð*, etc.

NOTE 2. The forms of the Ps. are: 1) inf. *wrēan*, pres. 3 sing. *wrið*, imp. sing. *wrih*; 2) pres. 1 sing. *flēom* (cf. 426 ff.), 3 sing. *tið*, plur. *flēoð*, opt. plur. *flēn*, imp. sing. *tēh*, part. *flēonde*; 3) inf. *sēan*, *sīan*, inf. *sēonne*, pres. 1 sing. *sīo*, *sīe*, *gefio*, *gefie*, 2 sing. *sīst*, 3 sing. *sīð*, *gefīð* (once *gefið*, 20. 2, and *gefiht*, 15. 9), plur. *sīað*, *sēað*, *sioð*, and *gefīað*, *gefēað*, *gefioð*, opt. sing. *sē*, *gefee*, plur. *sēn*, *gefēn*, imp. sing. *seh*, *gefeh*, plur. *sīað*, *gefīað*, *gefioð*, part. *sīonde*, *sīende*; 4) pres. 1 sing. *slēa*, *ðwēa*, 2 sing. *slēs*, *ðwēs*, 3 sing. *slēð*, *ðwēð*, plur. *slēað*, opt. sing. *slē*, imp. *slæh*, *ðuəh*; 5) inf. *fōn*, pres. 1 sing. *fō*, *foo* (once *fōu*, 115. 13), 2 sing. *foest*, 3 sing. *foeð* (once *foeht*, 47. 4; that is, *fōest*, *fōēð*, *fōeht*), plur. *fōð*,

opt. *foe*, plur. *foen* (that is, *fōe*, *fōen*, or *fōe*, *fōen* ?), imp. sing. *fōh*, plur. *fōð*, part. *fōnde*.

NOTE 3. In R.¹ occur: 1) inf. *wriġan*, part. *ásiende*, pres. plur. *wrēoþ*; 2) inf. plur. *flēane*, part. *tēonde*, pres. plur. *flēaþ*, *flēoþ*, imp. *flēoh*, *tēoh*, plur. *flēoþ*; 3) inf. *sēon*, infl. *sēonne*, *sēenne*, part. *sēonde*, *sēende*, *sēande*, pres. 2 sing. *sīs*, *sees* and *sihst*, 3 sing. *sīð*, *sēoþ* and *sihþ*, plur. *sēoþ*, *sēaþ*, *sēeþ*, opt. plur. *sēo(n)*, imp. *sih* and *seoh*, plur. *sēoþ*, *sēaþ* (= *sēaeþ* ?), pres. 3 sing. and imp. plur. *gefēaþ* (cf. 391, note 6); 4) inf. *slā(n)* and *slēan*, *slāan*, infl. *slāanne*, pres. 1 sing. *slā*, 2 sing. *slægst*, 3 sing. *slāþ* and *slæhþ*, plur. *slāþ* and *slægþ*, *slæhþ*, *thuāð*, opt. *slā*, imp. *slāg*, *þwāh*.

NOTE 4. R.² has the following instances: 1) pres. 3 sing. *wrið*, imp. plur. *wriāð*; 2) inf. *tēa*, infl. *flēan(n)e*, pres. 3 sing. *flēs*, plur. *flēas*; 3) inf. *sēa*, infl. *sēan(n)e*, *sēana*, pres. 1 sing. *siom*, 2 sing. *sīs(t)*, 3 sing. *sīð* (*sēað*), plur. *sēað*, *sēas* and *sieð*, opt. *sīl*, *sīe*, plur. *sīl*, *sīe*, imp. sing. *sih*, *sæh*, adhortative *gisēa wé*, 2 plur. *sēað*, *sēas*, and imp. *gefæg*, plur. *gefēað* (391, note 6); 4) inf. *slā(a)*, *ðwā*, *ðwæ*, infl. *slāanne*, part. *slāende*, pres. 1 sing. *slā*, *ðwæ*, 2 sing. *slæs*, *ðwæs*, 3 sing. *slæð*, *slāð*, plur. *slāð*, opt. sing. *slā*, *ðwæ*, imp. sing. *slāh*, *ðwāh*, adhortative *ofslā wé*.

NOTE 5. In L. occur: 1) inf. *wriġa*, pres. 3 sing. *wriġað*, opt. *wriā*, imp. plur. *wurīað*; 2) inf. *flēa*, *tēa*, infl. *flēanne*, pres. 3 sing. *flīð*, plur. *flēað*, *flēas*, *flīas*, imp. sing. *flēh*, plur. *flēas*; 3) inf. *sēa*, infl. *sēanne*, part. *sēende*, *sēgende*, pres. 1 sing. *sīum*, *sēom* (*selum*), 2 sing. *sīls*, *sīlstu*, *sīst*, 3 sing. *sīð*, -s, *sēað*, plur. *sēað*, -s, opt. sing. *sīl*, *sīe*, plur. *see*, *sēa*, *sēæ*, *sēge* (?), imp. sing. *sih*, *seh*, *sæh*, *sægh*, plur. *sēað*, -s; 4) inf. *slāa*, *slæ* (*slēa* ?) and *ðoā*, *ðuōā*, part. *slāende*, *slægende*, *slōgende* (?), pres. 1 sing. *slā*, *ðoā*, 2 sing. *slæs(t)*, *ðvoās*, *ðuōās*, 3 sing. *slæð*, -s; *ðwās*, plur. *slā(a)s*, *slæð*, -s; *ðwās*; opt. sing. *slāæ*, *ðoā*, imp. sing. *slāh*, *ðuāh*, adhortative *ofslā wé*.

NOTE 6. Rit. has: 1) inf. *giðia*, infl. *wrianne*, part. *ðliende*, pres. opt. sing. plur. *giðil*, imp. plur. *wriāð*; 2) infl. inf. *flēanne*, part. *flēende*, pres. 3 sing. *fleeð*, *tēð*, opt. sing. *flee*, *flil*, imp. plur. *flēas*; 3) inf. *sēa*, pres. 1 sing. *sīum*, 2 sing. *sīst*, 3 sing. *sīð*, plur. *sēað*, opt. sing. *sīl*, imp. *sih*, *sigh*, *seh*, plur. *sēað*; 4) part. *slændum*.

NOTE 7. On North. weak *gefēaga* see 391, note 6; 414, note 5. c.

2) PRETERIT

375. The preterits of the contract verbs do not differ from those of the regular conjugation, since the **h** is either final (ind. 1 and 3 sing.) or has undergone grammatical change to **g** or **w**.

376. **u**-umlaut belongs originally to the ind. plur. of the strong verbs of the First Ablaut-Class (382), as far as the special phonetic laws of the individual dialects require. However, the old conditions are much disordered by leveling (105; 160; 104. 2, etc.).

NOTE. In EWS. texts, the **io** due to umlaut is already gone: not only **gewiton** (105. 1), but **drifon**, **scrifon** (105. 2); WS. forms with **io**, **eo** occur therefore only sporadically in less pure texts, being especially frequent in the poetry.

Kent. Gl. has only one leveled form: **gewiton**. Ps., on the other hand, has consistently carried through the umlaut to **eo** (once **io**), and extended it by analogy to the verbs in a guttural, like **steogun**, **blsweocun**, while R.¹ fluctuates between **eo**, **io** and simple **i** (164, note 2).

The umlaut-form of North. is everywhere **io** (150, note 4). The instances in R.² strictly follow the phonetic rules, with the exception of one **fordrifon**, with a different vowel of the ending: **-drifon**, **-flifon**, **-hrifon**, **-on**, **árfifon**, contrasted with **stifon**, **wrifon** (164. 2). L. has, however, a few leveled forms in **i**: **fordrifon**, **gehrifon**, **áwriton**, beside the phonetically correct forms, like **blodon**, **drifon**; **stifon**, **wrifon**. Rit. has only **á-**, **griuson**.

377. **i**-umlaut properly belongs to the indicative 2 sing. and the whole optative (compare OS. forms like ind. 2 sing. **bundi**, opt. 1 and 3 sing. **bundi**, plur. **bundin**). It scarcely occurs, however, except in a few optatives of the preteritive presents (421 ff.); in the regular verb it has been given up.

NOTE. The few umlauted forms which might perhaps be assigned here are extremely doubtful. R.² has an apparent ind. 2 sing. *ðwæge*, as a gloss upon *lavabis*; in a rubric of Rit. 114 there is an opt. *wyrde*, parallel to the opt. pres. *mæge*; in Cura Past. 214. 7, *hli(e)pen* is to be classed, according to the sense, as opt. pres. (and accordingly belongs, no doubt, to a weak verb *hliepan*, from **hlaupjan*); in like manner, a present meaning is requisite for *swylte* (corrected from *swælte*), R.¹ 22. 24. There remain only a few forms with *wyr* for *wur*, which are perhaps to be regarded as inverted spellings (72, and note): poet. *hwyrfe*, Dan. 221; R.² *wyrde*, *gewyrde*, *fieret*, once each (compare R.¹ ind. *wyrdun*, -on, *wyrðon*, *wyrpon*, for *wurdun*, etc., and ind. plur. *áwyrpeþ*, for *áweorpaþ*).

3) PAST PARTICIPLE

378. The vocalism of these participles is generally stable. Only the following is to be noted:

1) In the verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class a interchanges with *æ*: *faren*, *færen*, etc. (368, note 4).

2) As a result of the original ending -*in* (beside -*æn*, -*en*, 366, note 2), certain verbs occasionally have *i*-umlaut.

NOTE 1. Among EWS. texts, Cura Past. has of these forms (disregarding the uniform *gesewen*, 73, note 1): in MS. C two -*slægen*, as against -*slægen* MS. H, in the former one -*cymen*, two -*ðræwen*, as against -*cumen*, -*ðrāwen* MS. H. In the EWS. laws occur -*slægen*, -*tygen* (beside -*togen*, from *tēon*, *censure*, 383, note 3), in later texts often -*cymen*, -*ðwægen*, -*slægen*. Compare the participial adjective *ægen*, *own*, beside *āgen* (Goth. *aigins*, contrasted with OHG. *eigan*).

Sure instances are lacking in Ps. (but see note 2), as its *slægen*, *áhæfen*, etc. can be interpreted by 151. 1; R.¹ has *unðwægen* (beside -*slægen*, etc.), R.² one *gebræcen*, Rit. -*hefen*, beside -*slægen*, etc.); in L. the umlauts are commoner: *gescyfen*, *gecnœden*, *gesuœren*, *gewœrden*, *áwœrpen*, -*hefen*, -*ðwægen*, and probably *gescryncan*, etc. (386, note 4); cf. also note 2.

NOTE 2. Here belongs also the Angl. part. *dōen* (poet. -*dēn*), from **dōin*-, from the anomalous *dōn*, 429. On this model are framed a

few forms of contract verbs in North.: **-fōen**, **-hōen** R.² L. Rit. (also poet. **-fēn**), in L. also **-ſuōen**, **ſuēn** (392, note 7; 397, note).

NOTE 3. Only quite sporadically occur traces of u-umlaut (366.2), like **gewreotene** in a Kentish charter of A.D. 871-889.

NOTE 4. In MS. C of Cura Past. occurs twice the part. **wieten**, from **witan** (420. 1), but its **ie** must be derived from the **ie**-forms of the infinitive, etc. The numerous **ie**'s of MS. H in participles of the First Ablaut-Class are not to be regarded (22, note).

B. TENSE-FORMATION OF STRONG VERBS

1) ABLAUT VERBS

379. The tense-stems. The forms of OE. Ablaut Verbs may all be referred to four stems, which are called tense-stems. These are

1) the present-stem, to which belong all the forms of the present;

2) the first preterit-stem, to which belong only the ind. pret. 1 and 3 sing.;

3) the second preterit-stem, comprising the ind. 2 sing., the ind. plur., and the whole opt. pret.;

4) the stem of the past participle, from which only the latter is derived.

As representatives of these four stems the following are generally adduced: 1) the ind. pres. 1 sing. or the inf.; 2) the ind. pret. 1 sing.; 3) the ind. pret. 1 plur.; 4) the past participle.

380. Grammatical change. Those verbs whose present-stem ends in a surd spirant regularly experience grammatical change in the third and fourth stems: **cēosan**, **cēas**, **curon**, **coren** (384); **liðan**, **lāð**, **lidon**, **liden** (382); **tēon**, **tēah**, **tugon**, **togen** (384); **sēon**, **shea**,

sāwon, sewen (391. 2). This relation is, however, often obscured, since the grammatical change often extends to the second stem: **slēan, slōg, slōgon, geslāegen (392. 2).** For details see under the various Ablaut-Classes.

381. The ablaut-series. The variation of radical vowel in the four stems of the verb takes place within certain well-defined vowel-groups or series, which are called ablaut-series. Of these series the Germanic verb recognizes six. Arranging the vowels according to the order of the four stems, the series form the following system:

	1ST STEM	2D STEM	3D STEM	4TH STEM
I . . .	ī	ai	i	i
II . . .	eu	au	u	o
III . . .	e, i	a	u	u, o
IV . . .	e, i	a	æ	o
V . . .	e, i	a	æ	e
VI . . .	a	ō	ō	a

NOTE 1. For the variation of **e** and **i**, **u** and **o**, see 45. 2, 3.

The much more complicated system of the OE. ablaut-series results from the Germanic by the introduction of the changes which the Germanic vowels experienced in OE. (49 ff.). Further particulars will be given in the following surveys.

NOTE 2 (on 380–381). In North., especially in L., the strong conjugation is already beginning to disorganize. This results from various new formations in the pret. and past part., which now destroy the grammatical change, now the older ablaut, and now repose upon analogy with the weak conjugation. For the details see below.

382. Class I. Verbs of the First Ablaut-Class: **ī, ā, i** (10, eo, 105; 160; 376), **i** (10, eo, 378, note 3): **grīpan, grāp, gripon (griopun), gripen, seize**; with grammatical

change in the third and fourth stems: *sniðan*, *snāð*, *snidon*, *sniden*, *cut*.

NOTE 1. a) Like *grīpan* are inflected *nīpan*, *grow dark*; *clīfan*, *adhere*; *drīfan*, *drive*; *belīfan*, *remain*; *scrifan*, *prescribe*; *tōslīfan*, *split*; *swīfan*, *revolve*; *bītan*, *bite*; *drītan* (?), *cacare*; *flītan*, *contend*; *hnītan*, *thrust*; *scītan*, *cacare*; *slītan*, *tear*; *besmītan*, *defile*; *ðwītan*, *hew*; *gewītan*, *go*; *ætswītan*, *scold, twit*; *wlītan*, *look*; *wrītan*, *write*; *bīdan*, *bide*; *glīdan*, *glide*; *gnīdan*, *cnīdan* (LWS. has sporadically a pret. *forgnāð*), *rub*; *hlīdan*, *cover*; *rīdan*, *ride*; *slīdan*, *slide*; *strīdan*, *stride*; *wrīdan* (?), *grow*; *blīcan*, *shine*; *sīcan*, *sigh*; *snīcan* (?), *creep*; *strīcan*, *go*; *swīcan*, *abandon*; *wīcan*, *yield*; **figan*, *parch* (only part. *áfígen*); *hnīgan*, *bow*; *nūgan*, *mingere*; *sīgan*, *sink*; *stīgan*, *ascend*; *cīnan*, *gape*; *ácwīnan*, *dwīnan*, *disappear*; *gīnan*, *yawn*; *hrīnan*, *touch*; *hwīnan* (?), *hiss*; *scīnan*, *shine* (pret. *scān*, *scēan*, 76); *ðwīnan* (?), *grow soft*; *spīwan*, *spew*; *árisan*, *arise*; *gerīsan*, *bestit*; *miðan*, *avoid*; *wriðan*, *bind*.

b) Like *snīðan* are conjugated *liðan*, *go*; *scriðan*, *proceed* (but part. *scriðen* Guthl. 1012); *ætchliðan*, *adhere*, is doubtful; on LWS. *frīnan*, *frān*, see 389, note 3.

NOTE 2. Occasionally strong preterits are also formed from weak verbs: *rān*, from *rīnan*, for *rīgnan*, *rain* Blickl. Gl.; *oferswāð*, from *oferswiðan* Saints 2. 4.

NOTE 3. The present of *rīpan*, *reap*, is peculiarly irregular; the quantity of the *i* is doubtful in WS., but it is short in Angl., and therefore subject to *u-* and *o/a-*umlaut (370, note 8): Ps. *reopan*, 3 sing. *ripeð*, R.¹ *hriopan*, 1 and 3 sing. *ripe*, -es, R.² 2 and 3 sing. *ripes*, -eð, plur. *riopað*, opt. *ripe*, L. (h)*rioppa*, 1 sing. *hrippo*, 2 *hrip(p)es*, 3 *hrioppað*, plur. *hriopað*, *rioppas*.

Thus inflects North. L. *grioppa*, *grasp*: inf. *grioppa*, 3 sing. *gripes*, opt. *gripa*, etc.

The defective verb *-weosan*, *vanish*, also probably belongs here: pres. part. *tōweosende*, past part. *forweren*, *forweoren* (forworen, 72), from **wīsan*; compare the weak *wīslan*, *weoslan*. On *lioran*, *lioran* see 384, note 3.

NOTE 4. North. new formations are: R.² pret. plur. *ástāgdun* (beside *stāg*, plur. *stigun*); L. pret. *gripp(e)de* (beside *grāp*, opt. *grioppa*), *stīg(e)de*, -ade, opt. *stāge*, *stāgade* (beside ind. *stāg*, plur. *stigun*, opt. *stige*), *duinde*, *hrin(a)don*, part. *gehrinad* (beside pret. plur. *hrinon*).

383. 1) The contract verbs *tīon*, *tēon*, *censure*; *ṭion*, *ṭēon*, *thrive*; *wrīon*, *wrēon*, *cover* (for **tīhan*, etc., compare Goth. *teihan*, *peihan*; on *io*, *ēo* see 84. 2; 114. 3; Ps. *wrēan*, R.¹ *wrigan*, R.² *wria*, L. *wri(g)a*, Rit. *ṭia*, *wria*, 374, notes 2 ff.), lost the *h* in certain forms of the present, which then underwent contraction (373), but retain the *h* in the pret. 1 and 3 sing., and convert it into *g* by grammatical change in the third and fourth stems (380): *wrīon* (*wrēon*), *wrāh*, *wrigon*, *wrigen*.

2) This inflectional type has been preserved in Anglian in a virtually pure form (see the list of individual instances in 374), but in WS. these verbs soon went over to the Second Ablaut-Class, whose present forms coincided with theirs: thus pret. *wrēah*, plur. *wrugon*, part. *wrogen*, like *tēah*, *tugon*, *togen*, from *tīon*, *tēon*, *draw* (384. 2).

NOTE 1. This transfer begins in EWS. with *tēah*, *tugon* Or., in contrast with part. *geṭigen* Cura Past.

The lexicons and older grammars often cite infinitives like **tīhan*, etc.; these are nowhere to be met with in the literature, and are falsely deduced from forms in which the *h* is regularly preserved (374), like 3 sing. *tī(e)hō*.

NOTE 2. The *g* of the third and fourth stems is occasionally transferred to the second stem: *ṭāg*, *wrāg*; in R.¹ L. *wriga*, beside *wria* (374, notes 3 and 5), it even penetrates into the first.

NOTE 3. *ṭion*, *ṭēon*, in addition to the pret. plur. *ṭigon*, *ṭugon*, part. *ṭigen*, *ṭogen*, likewise forms a pret. plur. *ṭungon*, opt. *ṭunge*, past part. *ṭungen*, according to Class III (386). *tīon*, *tēon*, *censure*, has also in the past part. *tygen*, with *i*-umlaut (378, note 1), beside *tigen* and *togen*.

NOTE 4. Like *tīon*, *tēon* are inflected the first and second stems of *līon*, *lēon*, *lend*; *sēon*, *sift* (Goth. *leihtwan*, **selhtwan*), pret. *lāh*, *lēah*. The only other form is the past part. *ásiwen*, *áseowen* (73. 3, and note 3), and the contracted *besēon*.

384. Class II. Verbs of the Second Ablaut-Class: *ēo, ēa, u, o* (Goth. *iu, au, u, u*). Examples:

1) for regular verbs: *bēodan, bēad, budon, boden, bid; cēowan, cēaw, cuwon, coven, chew*; or with grammatical change in the third and fourth stems: *cēosan, cēas, curon, coren, choose; sēoðan, sēað, sudon, soden, seeþe*;

2) for contract verbs: *tēon, tēah, tugon, togen, draw*; similarly *flēon, flee* (for the Anglian forms in detail see 374).

NOTE 1. So are also inflected:

a) Regularly: *crēopan, creep; drēopan, drip; gēopan, receive; clēofan, cleave; rēofan, shatter* (only part. *rofen, berofen*); *brēotan, break; flēotan, flow; gēotan, pour; grēotan, weep; hlēotan, cast lots; nēotan, enjoy; rēotan, fall; scēotan* (part. *scoten* and *sceoten*, 76), *shoot; ðēotan* (beside *ðūtan*, 385), *howl; áðrēotan, weary; hrēodan* (generally only past part. *hroden*), *adorn; lēodan, grow; rēodan, redder; ábrēoðan* (part. *ábroden*), *frustrate; rēocan* (North. L. *rēca*), *smēocan* (North. *smēca*, R.¹ *smīca*), *smoke; drēogan, endure; flēogan* (Ps. *flēgan, flīgan*, North. L. R.² Rit. *flēga*), *fly; lēogan* (Ps. *lēgan, līgan*, R.¹ *līgan*), *lie; brēowan, brew; hrēowan, rue*.

b) With grammatical change: *drēosan, fall; frēosan, freeze; hrēosan, fall; forlēosan, lose*.

NOTE 2. *hēofan, lament*, has the irregular pret. *hēof*, after the manner of the Reduplicating Verbs, beside *hēofde* (on LWS. *hrēow*, for *hrēaw*, see 119, note).

rēocan has also the late pret. *rēohte*.

In LWS., *flēon* and *flēogan*, whose forms coincided in the (second), third, and fourth stems, also merged in the present, so that forms of *flēon* were used with the meaning *fly*, and those of *flēogan* with that of *flee*.

NOTE 3. Here probably also belongs the defective strong verb *lēoran, go* (part. *geleorene* Ruin 7, corrupted from *gelorene*, as metrical considerations demand length of the *eo* in *lēoran*; for the riming word *forweoren* we must read *forworene*, 382, note 3). The (only northern English) verb usually inflects as weak: pret. *lēorde*, part. *gelēored* (North. *līora*, 159. 5).

NOTE 4. The relation of the doublets **snēowan** and **snōwan**, *hasten* (both only poetical), and **cnēodan** (Bede) and **cnōdan** (Cura Past.), *alloy*, is not clear. The length of the radical vowels in **snōwan** and part. **gecnōden** is established by the metre, and the verbs ought probably on that account to be referred to 396. 2. *b*.

NOTE 5. There is a North. strong pret. **spēaft**, **spēoft**, *spat*, which might belong either here or under 396. 2. *a*; but according to the part. **gespēoftad** these forms would rather belong to a verb originally weak.

385. The verbs **slūpan**, *slip*; **sūpan**, *taste*; **dūfan**, *dive*; **scūfan**, *shove*; **lūtan**, *bow*; **hrūtan**, *snore*; **ḡūtan** (beside **ḡēotan**, 384), *howl*; **strūdan**, *devastate*; **brūcan**, *enjoy*; **lūcan**, *lock*; **sūcan**, **sūgan**, *suck*; **būgan**, *bow*; **smūgan**, *creep*, have in the present *ū* instead of *ēo* (compare Goth. *lūkan*), but are otherwise regular: **lūcan**, *lēac*, **lucon**, *locen*.

NOTE 1. Here probably belong the following, whose existence in the present is doubtful: ***crūdan**, *crowd* (3 sing. **crýdeð** Rid.), ***sprūtan**, *sprout* (compare Eng. *crowd*, *sprout*), and perhaps also ***scūdan**, *scud* (only part. **scūdende** Guthl., which might also belong to a weak verb of the Second Conjugation, ***scūdlan**). Here may also belong the isolated past participles **ḡrūten**, *swollen*; **geḡrūen**, *forged* (twice erroneously written **geḡuren** in the MSS).

NOTE 2. Of **scūfan** (LWS. also **scēufan**, **scēofan**, 76. 2; Rit. **scýfa**), the past part. is **scofen**, **scofen**, L. **scyfen** with *i*-umlaut (378, note 1), and the pret. plur. in Rit. **scyufon**.

NOTE 3 (on 384, 385). The verbs in gutturals have in Anglian (165. 1; 163) *ē* for the *ēo* or *ēa* of the first and second stems (in Ps. and R.¹ occasionally also *ī* for *ēo*, L. *æ* for *ēa*). For the present forms of the regular verbs see 384, note 1, and for the contract verbs 374; for the pret. compare Ps. **lēc**, **flēg**, **flēh**, **tāh**, R.² **brēc**, **bæg**, **flēh**, **tāh**, L. **brēc** (**bræc**), **bæg**, **flēh** (**flæh**), **tāh**, Rit. **flæg** (for **brēce**, **lēce**, see note 4).

NOTE 4 (on 384, 385). North. new formations are: R.² pret. plur. **brēccon**, L. pret. plur. **cēason**, opt. **cēase** (beside **curon**, *cure*), plur. **brē(1)con**, opt. **brēce**; pret. **sūpedon**, beside **sēap**, Rit. ind. pret. 2 sing. **lēce**, opt. **brēce**, beside ind. pret. 2 sing. **luce**.

386. Class III. Verbs of the Third Ablaut-Class: Goth. **i, a, u, u.** This class includes in OE. three main subdivisions:

1) Verbs in nasal + consonant have the ablaut-series **i, ȳ (a, 65), u, u**: **bindan, bȳnd (band), bundon, bunden, bind.**

NOTE 1. So are also inflected **findan, find**; **grindan, grind**; **hrindan, thrust**; **swindan, vanish**; **ȳindan, swell**; **windan, wind**; **ȳrintan, swell**; **sprintan** (only L. **gisprant, eructavit**); **(on)ginnan, begin**; **linnan, cease**; **sinnan, meditate**; **spinnan, spin**; **winnan, labor**; **clingan, shrink**; **cringan, crincan, fall**; **singan, sing**; **springan, spring**; **stingan, sting**; **swingan, swing**; **ȳringan, throng**; **wringan, wring**; **drincan, drink**; **ācwincan, vanish**; **scrincan, scringan, shrink**; **sincan, sink**; **slican, slink**; **stincan, stink**; **swincan, swink**; **climban, climman, climb**; **(ge)limpan, happen**; **(h)rimpan, wrinkle**; **crimman, cram**; **grimman, rage**; **hlimman, roar**; **scrimman(?)**; **swimman, swim.**

NOTE 2. Here belong also **iernan (irnan, yrnan, Ps. R.¹ eornan, North. R.² L. Rit. iorna), run**, and **biernan (birnan, byrnan, Ps. R.¹ beornan, North. L. beorna, bearna, Rit. beorna, biorna), burn**, intrans. (Goth. **rinnan, brinnan**, with metathesis, 179), pret. **ȳrn, bȳrn**, later **arn, barn**, for ***rōnn, *brōnn**; subsequently with regular ablaut WS. **earn, bearn**. The form **rinnan** is occasionally found, especially in **gerinnan, curdle** (though part. rarely also **geurnen**).

From **swingan** there is an early part. **sungen** Mart.

Sporadic are **ȳungon, ȳungen**, from **ȳeon, succeed** (383, note 3).

The WS. pret. of **findan** is also **funde**, as if from a weak verb.

NOTE 3. Of the Anglian texts, Ps. still regularly has the older **ȳ** in the pret.: **drȳnc**, etc., and so **ȳrn** and **bȳrn**; R.¹ fluctuates between **ȳ** and **a** (the latter also in **arn**). On the other hand, North., which elsewhere has only **ȳ** before nasals, here has always **a**: **band, dranc, gelamp**, etc., as well as **arn, barn**, evidently by analogy with preterits like **halp**, 387 (the forms with **u**, like **fund, drunc, gelump**, found in the older editions, are due to misreading).

NOTE 4. North. new formations are: R.² pret. sing. (weak ?) **gibinde**, beside **giband**, plur. **ornun, drincon** (beside **druncon**); L. pret. plur. **ongannon**, part. plur. **ongindo** (beside pret. **ongann**, plur. **-gunnon**), pret. **ȳringde**, part. **geȳringed** (beside **geȳrunge**),

pret. *suin(c)gde*, part. *besuingen*, *gesuin(c)ged* (beside pret. *-suang*, part. *-suungen*).

scriŋca has North. L. pret. plur. *gescriungon*, past part. *for-scriuncen*, *gescriuncan*, *gescryncan*; compare also the adj. *unā-scryuncan* (i.e., *-anlic*), *inmarcessibilis* Rit.

387. 2) Verbs in *l* + consonant have the ablaut-series *e*, *ea* (*a*, 80; Angl. regularly *a*, 158. 2, but see note 5 below), *u*, *o*: *helpan*, *healp* (*halp*), *hulpon*, *holpen*, *help*.

NOTE 1. Thus are inflected *delfan*, *delve*; *belgan*, *be angry*; *swelgan*, *swallow*; *beteldān*, *cover*; *meltan*, *melt*; *sweltan*, *die*; *bellan*, *bellow*; *swellan*, *swell*.

Isolated forms are *collen-*, in *collenferhð*, *excited*, from **cwellan*, *well up*, and *wollen-*, in *wollentēare*, *weeping*, from **wellan*, *surge*; yet the latter word might also belong to *weallan* (396. a).

NOTE 2. The following verbs exhibit slight variations in WS.: *giellan*, *yell*; *sciellan* (?), *clash*; *gieldan*, *yield*; *gielpa*, *boast*; *scielfan* (?), *shake*, with *ie*, *i*, *y* in the present on account of initial *g*, *sc* (75) (Kent. and Angl. preserve the *e*, 157. 2).

NOTE 3. *meolcan*, *milk*, and *seolcan*, *grow languid* (generally only in the past part. *á-*, *besolcen*) have in the pres. *eo* in WS. (81); yet also LWS. *melean*, by analogy with verbs like *helpan*.

NOTE 4. *fēolan* (Ps. *feolan*), *conceal* (from **feolhan*, 218. 1, compare Goth. *filhan*), has pret. *fealh* (Ps. *falh*; pres. 2 and 3 sing. WS. **filhst*, **filhð*, but Ps. 3 sing. *fileð* (164. 2), opt. Ps. *fele*, Rit. *fela*). The pret. plur. is rarely *fulgon*, generally *fælon* (Ps. *fælun*) according to 390, part. *folen*. An inf. **felgan*, which is often postulated, does not exist.

NOTE 5. R.¹ has, beside the preterits *gald*, *swalt*, also *dælf*, by analogy with such as *bær* (390).

NOTE 6. *sweltan* forms in L. the weak pret. *suelte*, *suælte*.

388. 3) Verbs in *r* or *h* + consonant have the ablaut-series *eo*, *ea*, *u*, *o*: *weorpan*, *wearp*, *wurpon*, *worpen*, *cast*, or *feohtan*, *feaht*, *fuhton*, *fohten*, *fight*; with grammatical change: *weorðan*, *wearð*, *wurdon*, *worden*, *become*. On the Anglian forms see notes 3 ff.

NOTE 1. So are inflected *ceorfan*, *cut*, *carve*; *deorfan*, *labor*; *hweorfan*, *turn*; *sceorfan*, *gnaw*; *steorfan*, *die*; *sweorfan*, *polish*;

sceorpan, *scrape*; **beorgan**, *protect*; **beorcan**, *bark*; ***sneorcan**, *excidere* (only pret. **gesnerec** Ps.); **sweorcan**, *grow dark*; **smeortan**, *smart* (only part. **fyrsmеortendum** Or.); ***ceorran**, *creak* (only pret. plur. **curron**).

For the pret. plur. **gurron** Andr. 374 an inf. ***georran** is generally postulated, but more probably it is to be referred to ***gierran**, **gyrran** (which is only found in the pres.), thus assigning to this verb a present formation with **jo** (372); on the other hand, the unique North. imp. **serð** L. no doubt belongs to a weak verb ***serða**, WS. ***sierðan**, *mæchari* (compare OHG. **serten**).

Isolated past participles of this class are **ácworren**, *crapulated* (compare **metecweorra**, *qualmishness*), and **flohtenfōt**, *web-footed*.

NOTE 2. On LWS. by-forms of the present, like **wurðan**, **wurpan** (**worpan**), etc., see 72.

NOTE 3. For **feohtan** Ps. has **fehtan**, North. R.² L. Rit. **fehta** (Rit. also adj. **unáfæhtenlic**), for **beorgan** R.¹ **bergan** (164. 1). Anglian instances are: Rit. **gefæht**, Ps. **gesnerec** (note 1, above; cf. 162. 2).

NOTE 4. The North. forms of **weorpan**, **weorðan** are **worpa**, **worða** (156. 2); for **hweorfan** Rit. has **hwarfa** (L. only pret. plur. **ymbhurfon**).

R.¹, beside regular forms with **weor-**, has others with **ea**, **e**, **æ**, **œ**, **y**, which are probably due to the **w**.

NOTE 5. Under **ceorfan** North. has the pret. L. **cearf**, R.² **ceorſ**, though North. **worpa**, **worða** have **warp**, **warð** R.² L., according to 156. 3 (so also R.¹ **warð**, beside **wearð**, **wearp**); but L. has also sporadic **wearp**, **wœarp**, **wearð**, **wærð**.

On the unlauted past participles, **wœrpen**, **wœrden**, see 378, note 1.

NOTE 6. North. new formations are: R.² pret. plur. **worpadun** (beside **wurpon**), L. pret. plur. **worpon**, **-un** (beside **warpon**, **-un**).

389. 4) Other variations, many of which will be at once comprehended by a reference to the phonology, are exhibited by the following verbs:

bregdan , <i>brandish</i>	brægd	brugdon	brogden
stregdan , <i>strew</i>	strægd	strugdon	strogden
berstan , <i>burst</i>	bærst	burston	borsten
ðerscan , <i>thresh</i>	ðærsc	ðurscon	ðorſcen
frignan , <i>inquire, ascertain</i>	frægn	frugnon	frugnen
murnan , <i>mourn</i>	mearn	murnon	—
spurnan (spornan), <i>tread down</i>	spearn	spurnon	spornen

NOTE 1. *bregdan* and *stregdan* often lose their *g* in southern Eng., with lengthening of the preceding vowel: *brēdan*, *brād*, etc., 214. 3, and note 8. The past part. of *bregdan* occurs as *bregden* in Phoen. and Blickl.

stregdan is preserved as a strong verb only in Ps. and R.²: Ps. pret. *stregd*, 2 sing. *strugde*, opt. *strugde*, part. *strogden*, R.² pret. *strægd*, part. *strogden*; R.¹ and North. also introduce weak forms into the pret.: R.¹ *strægde*, plur. *strægdun* (no **strægd*), L. (pres. *streigda*, *strægda*, *straigda*), pret. *strægd* and *strugde*, 2 sing. *strogdes* corr. from *strugdes*, Rit. pret. *strægd* and *strægde*, but L. Rit. part. *strogden*. In pure WS. prose the word seems to be only weak: pres. 3 sing. *strēt(t)* Cura Past., pret. *strēdde*, part. *gestrēd*, *gestrēded* (for **stregde*, etc.); isolated exceptions, like pret. *strægd* (*strēd*) Bede, part. *strogden* Blickl., come from non-WS. originals.

On the 3 sing. *britt*, *strett*, etc., see 359, note 3.

NOTE 2. *berstan* and *ðerscan* (North. L. *ðarsca*, *ðearsca*, R.² *ðarsca*, Rit. *ðersca*) stand by metathesis for *brestan* and *ðrescan* (179), the latter occurring quite sporadically (*brustæn* R.¹, *prescenne* Hpt. Gl.).

NOTE 3. *frignan* (compare Goth. *fraihnan*) has *i* as the vowel of the present in WS. and Ps. In WS. the *g* often disappears in the polysyllabic forms (214. 3): *frīnan* : *frægn*; in LWS. this is replaced by *frīnan*, *frān*, by analogy with the First Ablaut-Class, yet the plur. generally persists as *frunon*, part. *frunen*, although *frinon*, *frinen* also occur. Other more uncommon by-forms are *frinnan*, pret. *freng*, plur. *frungon* (185).

In R.¹ the verb is *frægnā* (only 2 sing. *frægnast* found), North. R.² *fregna*, *fræгна*, L. *fregna*, *fræгна*, *fraigna*; R.² pret. *frægn*, plur. *frugnun*, -on, and *frægnun*, part. *frognen*, L. pret. *frægn*, *fraign*, plur. *frugnon*, beside weak *fregnde*, *frægn(a)de*, *fraign(a)de*, part. *frognen*.

In this verb the *n* originally belonged only to the pres. (compare Goth. *frah*, *frēhum*); a relic of the older inflection is perhaps preserved in the pret. plur. *frugan* R.¹ Matt. 12. 10, and the participial forms *gefraegen*, *gefregen*, *gefrugen*, *gefrogen*, which might, however, belong to *fricgean* (391, note 8).

NOTE 4. For *murnan*, the only form occurring, **meornan* is often wrongly assumed. The poetry has once a pret. *murnde*. *spurnan* (*spornan*) is the only present form in EWS.; the new formation

speornan only occurs once, and that in LWS. For North. weak forms see 416, note 11. *ē*.

NOTE 5. Here perhaps belongs *forcwolstan*, *swallow*, with irregular present-forms; only the inf. is found.

390. Class IV. Verbs of the Fourth Ablaut-Class: Goth. *i*, *a*, *ē*, *u*, WS. *e*, *æ*, *ǣ*, *o* (Kent. and Ps. *e*, *e*, *ē*, *o*, R.¹ North. *e*, *æ* (*e*), *ē* (R.¹ also *ǣ*), *o*, 150.1; 151.1): *beran*, *bær*, *bǣron*, *boren*, *bear*.

NOTE 1. So also are inflected *cwelan*, *die*; *helan*, *conceal*; **hwelan*(?), *roar* (only *hwilleð*, and *hwelung*, *clangor*, are found); *stelan*, *steal*; *scleran*, *scyran*, *shear* (WS. pret. only *scear*, plur. *scēaron*, in poet. also *scær*, *scāron*); *teran*, *tear*; *ðweran*, *stir*; *brecan*, *break*; here belongs likewise the isolated past part. *gedwolen*, *perverse*; on *geðuren* see 385, note 1.

NOTE 2. Peculiarly irregular are:

<i>niman</i> , <i>take</i>	<i>nōm</i> , <i>nam</i>	<i>nōmon</i> , <i>nāmon</i>	<i>numen</i>
<i>cuman</i> , <i>come</i>	<i>c(w)ōm</i>	<i>c(w)ōmon</i>	<i>cumen</i> (<i>cymen</i>)

The opt. pres. of *cuman* occurs not infrequently as *cyme*, with *i*-umlaut; now and then this *y* occurs in other pres. forms, especially in Anglian. Here belong the following inflections: *a*) Ps. part. *cumende*, ind. pres. sing. 1 *cumu*, 2, 3 *cymes*, *-eð*, plur. *cumað*, opt. *cyme*, imp. *cym*, plur. *cumað*; *b*) R.¹ inf. *cuman*, *-e*, part. *cumende* (*cymende*), ind. pres. sing. 1 *cume*, 2 *cymest* (*cumest*), 3 *cymeþ* (*cymaþ*, *cymþ*), plur. *cumaþ* (*cymeþ*, *-eð*), opt. *cume* (*cyme*), imp. *cym*, *cyme*, *cum*, plur. *cumaþ*, *-eþ* (*cymeþ*); *c*) R.² inf. *cuma*, part. *cymende*, ind. pres. sing. 1 *cymo*, 2, 3 *-es*, *-eð*, etc., plur. *cumað*, *cymað*, opt. *cyme*, imp. *cym*, plur. *cumeð*, *cymað*, past part. *cumen*; *d*) L. inf. *cum(m)a*, *-æ*, *cyme*, part. *cym(m)ende* (*cummende*), ind. pres. sing. 1 *cym(m)o*, 2, 3 *cymes*, *-eð*, etc., plur. *cymas* (*cumas*), etc., opt. *cymo*, *-e*, imp. *cym(m)*, plur. *cym(m)að* (*cumas*), etc., past part. *cum(m)en*; *e*) in Rit. the *y* goes through the whole pres., with the exception of one each inf. *gievma*, *cume* (past part. always *cum(m)en*).

The EWS. pret. is generally *cōm* in Cura Past. and Or., but usually *cuōm* in Chron. R.² has only *cōm*, Ps. only *cwōm*, R.¹ *cwōm* (once *cōm*), L. *cwōm* (once *cōmæ* opt.), Rit. *cvōm* (a plural form **cwāmon*, which used frequently to be assumed, does not exist).

NOTE 1. The *y* of the *ō* in *c(w)ōm* is certified, like that of the corresponding *ōm*, by accents and the doubling of the vowel.

In *Y. eegl.* the forms *nōm*, plur. *nōmun*, -on prevail exclusively, but in *WS.* and *Kent.* there occurs also at an early period the new formation *nam*, plur. *nāmon* (already *Ep. naamun*).

NOTE 3. Here perhaps belongs *striman*, *in-*, *obniti* (only part. *strīma(e)ndi Gl.*).

NOTE 4. An umlauted past part. (378. 2) is North. *gibroecen*.

NOTE 5. On *u-* and *o/a-*umlaut in verbs of this class see 370; on present forms with *æ* see 391, note 5.

391. Class 7. 1) Verbs of the Fifth Ablaut-Class: Goth. *i*, *a*, *ē*, *i*, *WS.* *e*, *æ*, *ǣ*, *e* (*Kent.* and *Ps.* *e*, *e*, *ē*, *e*, otherwise *Angl.* *e*, *æ*, *ē*, *e*, 150; 151): *metan*, *mæt*, *mǣton*, *meten*, *measure*; or with grammatical change: *cweðan*, *cwæð*, *cwǣdon*, *cweden*, *say* (cf. note 4).

NOTE 1. So are inflected *drepan* (part. also once *dropen* *Beow.* 2981), *strike down*; *screpan*, *scrape*; *swefan*, *sleep*; *wefan*, *weave*; *fetan*, *fell*; *cnedan*, *knead*; *tredan*, *tread*; *sprecan* (*Kent.* and *LWS.* also *specan*), *speak*; *wrecan*, *pursue*; *wegan*, *carry*; *lesan*, *collect*; *genesan*, *recover*; with grammatical change only the defective *wesan* (427. 3).

Sporadic is the North. past part. *forrepen*, *reprehensus L.*

The verb *plegan*, *play*, has strong forms only in the pres. (beside weak *plegian*); the pret. is *WS.* *plegode*; *R.*¹ *pl(e)agade*; North. *R.*² *plægede*, *L.* *plæg(e)de*, *plægade*; *Ps.* has only present forms of *plegian*, *plagian*; cf. 416, note 13. b.

Very doubtful is *hlēcān*, *glomerari* (3 plur. *hlēcāð* *Cura Past.* 362. 20; also part. *tōhlocene*, *diuulsam* *Germ.* 23. 398?; cf. the weak verb *áhlōcian*, *eruere*, *effodere*).

NOTE 2. *WS.* *giefan*, *give*; -*gietan*, *get*, are irregular only in accordance with 75: pret. *geaf*, -*geat*, plur. *gēafon*, -*gēaton* (but cf. also 109, and note), part. *giefen*, *gieten*, etc. In *Kent.* and *Angl.* this diphthongization does not occur (157. 2), with the exception of a few North. *geaƿ*, -*geat*, and *geaƿ*, -*geat*, beside *gæƿ*, *gæt* in *L.* On the other hand, *Rit.* has a few *gi-*'s, beside *ge-*: imp. *gif*, part. *gifende*, beside *gef* (157, note 2).

NOTE 3. *etan*, *eat*, and *fretan*, *devour*, have the *WS.* pret. sing. *æt*, *fræt* (compare Goth. *frēt*), and hence also *R.*¹ North. *ēt(t)* (*R.*¹

also once **gleet**), with long **ē** (150. 1; a sporadic **æt** in L. m. be a new formation, cf. note 10).

NOTE 4. For the **u-** and **o/a-**umlaut in verbs of this Class s. 370; on North. **wæ-** for **we-** see 156. 1; on North. **wo-** for **weo-** (especially **wosa**, 427. 3) see 156. 2; on the pres. of **cwœða**, etc., for WS. **cweðan**, see 370, note 7; the pret. is in L. **cuæð**, **cwæð** (**cœð**, **cwoð**), plur. **cuēdon** (**cuædon**), **cuōdon**, etc., in Rit. **cwæð** (once **cwoð**), opt. **cvōde**.

NOTE 5 (on 390, 391). Certain North. texts have occasionally **æ** in the pres., instead of **e**: R.¹ once **stælan**, and often, on account of the **w**) **cwæðan**, L. **hæla**, **bærende**, **spræcca**, 1 sing. **wræco**, etc.

2) The verbs **gefion**, **gefēon**, *rejoice*; **plion**, **plēon**, *adventure*; and **sion**, **sēon**, *see*, stand for ***-fehan**, ***plehan**, ***sch(w)an** (113. 2; 373). Their tense-formation in WS. is:

gefēon	gefeah	gefægon	(gefægen)
plēon	pleah	—	—
sēon	seah	sāwon	sewen, sawen

NOTE 6. An inf. ***gefeohan** does not exist; **gefægen** (North. L. **gefagen**), *glad*, is, like **fægen**, properly an adjective (compare OS. **fagan**). The pret. is Merc. Ps. **gefæh**, plur. Ps. R.¹ **gefēgun**, **-on** (cf. note 7). The North. verb generally inflects like a weak verb of the Second Class: R.² L. **gifēaga**, **-e** (so also 3 sing. R.¹ **gefēap**); cf. 374, notes 3 ff.; 414, note 5. c.

NOTE 7. In texts which are not pure WS., especially in the poetry, **sægon** occurs instead of **sāwon**. In Anglian the pret. of **sēon** is **sæh**, according to 162. 1 (L. also **sægh**; cf. also note 6), plur. **sēgun**, **-on** (R.¹ also **sāgun** and **sægun**), opt. **sēge**, part. **gesegen** Ps. R.² L., also **gesēen** L. Besides, the adj. **gesēne**, *visible*, is used as a part. in R.¹ R.² L. (222. 2; in R.¹ also **gesēanæ**, **gesēanæ**).

3) The verbs **biddan**, *request*; **licg(e)an**, *lie*; **sittan**, *sit*, form their present in Germ. with **jo** (compare Goth. **bidjan**, and 372), but are otherwise regular: pret. **bæd**, **læg**, **sæt**, part. **beden**, **legen**, **seten**.

NOTE 8. So, too, *ſicg(e)an*, *take*, and *fricg(e)an*, *ascertain*, have the same present formation, but form their pret., especially in the poetry, as *ſeah*, *ſāh* (there also occurs the weak pret. *ſigede*, *ſigde*, 400, note 1. b; 401, note 1, especially in pure WS., and there apparently always; the pret. of *fricgean* does not occur), and the part. as *geſegen* (if *āſegen*, *distentus* Gl. belongs here), and *gefrigen*, *gefrugen* (389, note 3).

NOTE 9. The verbs in *g* have (57, note 3) in the ind. pret. plur. WS. *ā*, beside more frequent *æ* by analogy with the other verbs: *lāgon*, *wāgon*, and *lægon*, *wægon* (but not **sāgon*, beside *sægon*, since the pure WS. form is *sāwon*, see note 7, above). In Kent. Angl. the universal non-WS. *ē* prevails (150. 1): *lēgun*, etc. (for an exception in R.¹ see note 7).

NOTE 10 (on 1-3). R.¹ and North. have not altogether infrequently *e*, beside *æ*, in the pret. sing.: R.¹ *sprec*, *bed*, *sett*, *cweð*, R.² *gef*, *bed*, L. *sprec*, *gef*, *bed*, *set*, etc. In the case at least of R.¹ this may repose upon varying representation of the sound; in that of L., which elsewhere distinguishes *æ* from *e* with exactness, we should rather assume analogy with the plur.: *sprēc*, beside *spræc*, etc.

392. Class VI. 1) Verbs of the Sixth Ablaut-Class: Goth. OE. *a*, *ō*, *ō*, *a*: *faran*, *fōr*, *fōron*, *faren*, *go*; on past participles with *æ*, *e*, see note 7.

NOTE 1. Thus are inflected *alan*, *nourish*; *calan* (nearly restricted to part. *ofcalen*), *grow cool*; *galan*, *sing*; *grafan*, *grave*; *sc(e)afan*, *shave*; *hladan*, *lade*; *wadan*, *go*; *dragan*, *draw*; *gnagan*, *gnaw*; *acan* (only present forms found), *ache*; *bacan*, *bake*; *sacan*, *dispute*; *sc(e)acan*, *hasten*; *wacan* (*waxan*, 204. 3), *wash*.

Here belong also the isolated participles *gedafen* (rarely *gedæfen*, cf. note 7), *suitable*; *geðracen* (?), *prepared*; also perhaps *clawan*, *claw*, whose pret. does not occur.

NOTE 2. *wæcnan*, *awake*, *grow up*, pret. *wōc* (beside weak *wæcnian*, Class II) forms its present with *n*.

NOTE 3. The irregularities of *sc(e)afan* and *sc(e)acan*, pret. *scōc*, *scēoc*, part. *sc(e)acen* (poet. *scæcen*, 368, note 4), are explained by 76. The Angl. forms are: Ps. pres. part. *scæcende*, past part. *scecen*, R.¹ imp. plur. *āscakeþ*, R.² imp. plur. *scæcas*, *āsceacað*, L. *sceac(c)a*, etc. (part. also *sceæcende*), Rit. past part. *āsc(e)æccen*.

NOTE 4. EWS. *spōnan*, *spanan*, *seduce* (Angl. not found), pret. *spōn*, later forms the pret. *spēon* after the manner of the Reduplicating Verbs, and in more recent texts a corresponding pres. *spannan* (396).

NOTE 5. *weaxan*, *grow* (LWS. *wexan*, 108. 2) has already gone over in EWS. to the conjugation of the Reduplicating Verbs: pret. *wēox* (396); so Angl. R.¹ *wexan* (plur. also *wæxap*), pret. *wēox* and plur. *wēoxon* (165. 1); but North. R.² *wexa*, L. *wæxa* has still the old pret. *wōx*.

2) The contract verbs *flēan*, *flay*; *lēan*, *blame*; *slēan*, *strike*; *ḡwēan*, *wash* (compare Goth. *slahan*, *þwahan*) form their present according to the rules of 374. In the preterit grammatical change has invaded the singular; hence the 1 and 3 sing. are *flōg*, *lōg*, *slōg*, *ḡwōg*, through the influence of the plur. *lōgon*, *slōgon*, *ḡwōgon* (380; the later forms in *h*: *lōh*, *slōh*, *ḡwōh*, are to be judged according to 214. 1; cf. also 4, below: *scēḡḡan*, *scēod*). In the past part. grammatical change likewise prevails: *slægen*, *ḡwægen*, *beflagen*, *belagen*, etc., 368, note 4 (for North. exceptions see note 7).

3) *stōndan*, *stand*, has the *n* only in the pres. and past part.; thus pret. *stōd*, *stōdon*, but part. *stōnden*.

4) The verbs *swērian* (*swērgan*, *swērgan*, etc.; North. L. *suoeri(g)a*, beside *sueri(g)a*, 156. 1), *swear*; *hebban*, *heave*; *hliehhan* (*hliahhan*, *hlyhhan*, Angl. *hlæhhan*), *laugh*; *stæppan* (Rit. *stēpa*), *step*; *scieppan* (*scippan*, *scyppan*, Kent. Angl. *sceppan*), *create*; *scēḡḡan*, *injure*, form their present with *j*, which is lacking in the other forms (372): pret. *swōr* (in the later Or. once *swēor*, 89.25), *hōf*, *hlōg* (later *hlōh*; plur. *hlōgon*), *stōp*, *scōp* (*scēop*), *scōd* (*scēod*; see 76, and, for the *d*, 2, above); part. *hafen*, *hæfen*, *sceapen* (75. 1), etc.

NOTE 6. In LWS. *hebban* has a weak pret. *hefde*, part. *hefod*.

Along with *sceððan* there is a new formation *sceaðan*, without *j*; and, conversely, along with *scēod* a weak pret. *sceðede* (400, note 1).

NOTE 7 (on 1, 2, 4). In the past participle, the radical vowel *a* interchanges (368, note 4) with *æ* (or *ea* after *sc*); occasionally there are forms with umlaut-*e* (378, note 1).

The past part. of *swerian* is very rarely *swaren*, generally *sworen* (so also North. R.² L. Rit., beside umlauted *suceren* L.); similarly LWS. *geðwogen*.

North. new formations are L. *shofen*, beside *hæfen*, *hefen*, and *ðuæn*, *ðuæn*, *ðwēan*, beside *ðueg(e)n* (378, note 2).

2) REDUPLICATING VERBS

393. The same four stems are recognizable in the Reduplicating Verb as we have already found in the Ablaut Verb (379); only that in the former case they are not so sharply differentiated, the first and fourth stems having the same vowel on the one hand, and the second and third stems a different vowel on the other. When grammatical change takes place, it applies alike to the second, third, and fourth stems. The distinguishing characteristic of the Reduplicating Verbs lies in the manner of forming their preterit.

394. The originally disyllabic reduplicated preterits (351. 1) are uniformly shortened to monosyllables in OE., but in two different ways :

1) Only a small number of verbs have preserved forms in Anglian and in the poetry which clearly point to their formation by means of original reduplication:

INF.	PRET.	(GOTH.)
<i>hatan</i> , <i>call</i>	<i>hēht</i>	(<i>halhait</i>)
<i>rædan</i> , <i>advise</i>	<i>reord</i>	(<i>rairōþ</i>)
<i>lāoan</i> , <i>play</i>	<i>leole</i>	(<i>lallalk</i>)
<i>ondrædan</i> , <i>fear</i>	<i>ondreord</i>	(—)
<i>lætan</i> , <i>let</i>	<i>leort</i>	(<i>lallōt</i>)

To all of these belong collateral dialectic forms according to 2.

NOTE 1. The quantity of the vowel of **hēht** is not to be determined with any certainty ; scholars are now inclined to regard the *e* as long (396, note 1).

NOTE 2. **leole** is only found in the poetry.

Pure WS. prose has none of the reduplicated forms except one **hēht** in the Chron., and this has perhaps been introduced from without. On the other hand, poetry which certainly belongs to the south (like the introductory poem of the Cura Past., and the Metres, which were composed in Kent) has **hēht**, beside the Common WS. **hēt**. Where **hēht** appears elsewhere in pure WS. (prose) texts, it has been introduced from originals belonging to another dialect.

Bede, which has been copied from Angl., has **hēht** and **leort**, beside **hēt** and **lēt** ; R.¹ has one **forleortun**, beside the usual **lēt**, but only **dreord**, **reord**, **hēht** (the latter even in 14. 2, where Kemble read **hæ̃t**). Ps. and North. know almost none but the reduplicated forms : Ps. R.² L. **hēht**, **ondreord** (L. **ondreard**), **leort**, Rit. **hēht**, **leort** ; one exception is L. **rēdon**, corrected from **rēddon** (395, note 3).

2) Generally the contraction leads to complete fusion of the reduplicating with the radical syllable ; the product exhibits either **ě** or the diphthong **ěo** :

fōn , <i>seize</i>	feng	fengon	fongen
hātan , <i>call</i>	hēt	hēton	hāten
feallan , <i>fall</i>	fěoll	fěollon	feallen
hlēapan , <i>leap</i>	hlēop	hlēopon	hlēapen

NOTE 3. The **ěo** undergoes the usual dialectic transformations ; hence occasionally conversion to **īo** (esp. Kentish, 150, note 3) and particularly North. **ěa**, beside **ěo**, in forms like **fěall**, **fěoll** R.² L. Rit., etc. (150, note 1).

395. 1) A few verbs with original *a* before *n* + consonant have *e* : **blōdan**, *mix*, pret. **blend** ; **fōn**, *seize* ; **hōn**, *hang* (Goth. **fāhan**, **hāhan**, from Germ. ***faʰhan**, ***hanhan**, 67) ; pret. with grammatical change, **feng**, **heng**, part. **fongen**, **hongen**.

NOTE 1. The *e* of the preterit forms is demonstrably short in OS. and ON.; hence the OE. vowel was probably short, though later lengthening might occur (124).

NOTE 2. Here probably also belongs *áblongan*, *grow angry*, of which only the past part. *áblongne*, *indignati*, is found in L.

2) A few verbs which end in a simple consonant have *ē*. Their radical vowel is:

a) WS. *ǣ*, Kent. Angl. *ē* (= Germ. *ǣ*, Goth. *ē*): (on)-*drǣdan*, *dread*; *rǣdan*, *advise, read*; *lǣtan*, *let*; *slǣpan* (*slāpan*, 57. 3), *sleep*.

NOTE 3. For *dreord*, *reord*, *leort*, beside *drēd*, *rēd*, *lēt*, see 394. 1. *rǣdan* is generally weak in WS.: pret. *rǣdde*, part. *gerǣdd* (406), though strong forms do occur: pret. plur. *rēdon* Or., part. *rāden* Blickl. R.¹ has pret. plur. *reordun*, R.² *rēddun* = L. *rēddon*, corrected to *rēdon* (394, note 2), but part. L. *gerēded*.

In like manner, there are WS. weak forms: (on)*slǣpte*, *ondrǣdde*. In Angl. prose the pret. of *slǣpan* is always weak: Ps. *slēpte*, R.¹ *slēpte* (*slēpade*), L. *slēpde* (plur. also *slēpedon*), Rit. *slēpde*.

b) *ā* (Germ. Goth. *ai*), neither preceded nor followed by *w* (396. 2. c): *hātan*, *call*; *lācan*, *jump, play*; *scādan* (*scēadan*, 76), *separate*.

NOTE 4. The WS. pret. of *scādan*, *scēadan* is *scēad*, beside *scēd*. The only pret. forms of Angl. prose are: R.² ind. sing. *tōgiscēode*, *interpretabatur*, L. *-scēadade*, *-scēadde* (*-scēadda*), *-scēade*, plur. *scēad(ad)on*; Rit. 2 sing. *gescēadest*, plur. *tōscēadon*.

396. 1) The diphthong *ǣo* is retained in the preterit by such as have original *a* before *l* + consonant, as well as by a few in *n* + consonant:

a) *feallan*, *fall*; *weallan*, *be agitated*; *fealdan*, *fold*; *healdan*, *hold*; *stealdan*, *possess*; *wealdan*, *wield*; *sealtan*, *salt*; *wealcen*, *revolve* (for Angl. *fallan*, *-a*, etc. see 158. 2);

b) *bōnnan*, *summon*; *spōnnan*, *join*; *gōngan*, *go*;

NOTE 1. The quantity of *eo* in the preterit can not be directly ascertained; but, upon the basis of certain hypotheses of origin, it is now generally assumed that it is long, notwithstanding the following consonant-group (394, note 1).

On North. *ēa* for *ēo* see 394, note 3. R.¹ has the plur. *fellun*, beside forms like *hēold*, *fēollon* (*fēallan*).

NOTE 2. For *gōngan* North. (157. 4) has L. *geonga* (ind. pres. 1 sing. also *giungo*, opt. *giunga*), Rit. *geonga*, *gionga*, but R.² *gōnga* (only once *geonga*). In the poetry occurs an inf. *gengan* Andr. 1097.

The pret. is *gēong* or *gengde* in the poetry (in Beow. also *gang*), but is replaced by *ēode* (430) in the prose (even in Angl.). Similarly North. lacks the past part. *gegongen*, its place being taken by *glēad* R.² L.

NOTE 3. On *weaxan*, *grow*, see 392, note 5.

NOTE 4. The forms *glen(g)*, opt. *geuge*, and *spenn*, occurring in Gen. B, which was based upon an Old Saxon original, are not OE.

2) The diphthong *ēo* falls to those verbs which end in a single consonant, and have as their radical vowel:

a) orig. *au* = OE. *ēa*: *bēatan*, *beat*; *hēawan*, *hew*; *hlēapan*, *leap*; *āhnēapan*, *pluck off*;

b) orig. *ō* = OE. *ō*: *hrōpan*, *shout*; *hwōpan*, *threaten*; *blōtan*, *sacrifice*; *wrōtan* (pret. not found), *root*; *flōcan* (pret. not found), *applaud*; *swōgan* (pret. not found), *roar*; *swōgan*, *overcome* (part. *geswōgen*, *swooning*); and with i-umlaut (present formation with *jo*, 372): *wēpan*, *weep*; * *hwēsan* (or * *hwāsan*?), *wheeze*; with the phonetic group *ōw*: *blōwan*, *bloom*; *flōwan*, *flow*; *grōwan*, *grow*; *hlōwan*, *low*; *rōwan*, *row*; *spōwan*, *thrive*;

c) *ā* with following or preceding *w*: *blāwan*, *blow*; *cnāwan*, *know*; *crāwan*, *crow*; *māwan*, *mow*; *sāwan*, *sow*; *ṭrāwan*, *twist*; *wāwan*, *blow*; *swāpan*, *sweep*.

NOTE 5. To a) belong the isolated participles *ēacen*, *great* (cf. Goth. *aukan*, *increase*), and *ēaden*, *given*; to a) or b) the isolated preterits

genēop Ex. 475 and **onrēod**, *inbuit* Corp. 1129; to *c*) perhaps **rāwan**, *cleave* (pres. part. **gerāwende**, past part. **gerāwen**). For **snōwan**, **cnōdan**, and North. ***speofta**, ***speafta**, see 384, notes 4 and 5.

NOTE 6. A strong pret. is lacking to the strong pres. **būan**, *dwel*, past part. **gebūn**, **gebūen** (rarely **bȳn**), its place being taken by **būde**, **būede**, North. **bȳ(e)de**, from the weak **bū(w)ian**, North. **bȳa** (416, note 11. *d*).

NOTE 7. Beside **sāwan**, MS. H of Cura Past. has an unlauted **sāwan**.

NOTE 8. The verbs in **w** have sometimes **ē**, instead of **ēo**, in the pret.: EWS. Cura Past. **oncnēw**, -on, opt. **sēwe**, Or. **oncnēwen**; Merc. Ps. **oncnēw**, -e, -un, R.¹ **hēu**, 2 sing. **sēwe**, plur. **blēwan**.

The North. forms of these preterits are: R.² **blēow**, **sēow**, plur. **oncnēowun**, but 2 sing. **sāwe**; L. **blēuu**, **blēou^u**, plur. **blēwun**, **blēuun**; **oncnēw**, -cnēu; -cnāw, -cnēawu, plur. -cnēawn, -cnēaun, shortened (360, note 3) **oncnēu**, -cnāu, -cnēaw **gīe**, opt. **cnēwa**; opt. **crēawa**; plur. **hrēwun**, **hrāuun**, **hrōwun**; ind. **sēaw(u)**, plur. **sēawun** (and weak **sēawde**, **sāude**); opt. **spēua**; Rit.² sing. **āblēawe**, 3 sing. **gīflāve** (?).

In the pret. plur. contraction may supervene: poet. **rēon**, from **rēowun**, from **rōwan**.

NOTE 9. Of North. **wōpa** = WS. **wēpan** the pret. in R.² is regularly **wēop**, in L. **wēop**, **wēap**, **wēæp**, **wōap**, **wāp** (and weak **wāpde**).

397. The past participle originally has the vowel of the present (but R.¹ **áswopen**, from **swāpan**, 396. 2. *c*). Grammatical change (and hence a different vowel) is found only in the participles **fōngen**, **hōngen**, from **fōn**, **hōn** (395. 1).

NOTE. Beside L. **hōngen**, the part. of these verbs is North. R.² L. Rit. **fōen** and **hōen** (poet. -**fēn**, 378, note 2; but Ps. only **fōngen**, R.¹ **fōngen**, **hōngen**).

III. WEAK VERBS

398. The weak verbs are mostly derivatives. They are divided into three classes, on the basis of the variation in their derivative suffixes :

1) The **jo-**(or **ja-**)class. Its original present suffix was Indo-European **-e-jo-**, from which was derived, through ***-ija-**, Germ. **-ja-**, when the radical syllable was short, and **-ia-** when it was long (45.8).

2) The **ō-class**. Its suffix was Germ. **-ō-ja-**, interchanging with **-ō-** (411).

3) The **ē-class** (also called **ai-class**). This was characterized in Indo-European by the ending **-ē-** of the stem. On the various subdivisions of this class see 415.

399. Only three stems are to be distinguished in the weak conjugation — those of the present, the preterit, and the past participle. The two latter very frequently approximate in form.

1. FIRST WEAK CONJUGATION

A) ORIGINAL SHORT STEMS

400. All forms of the regular verbs of this class have **i-umlaut**. In other respects they fall (including also the corresponding irregular verbs of 407) into two main divisions, according to the difference in the manner in which they make the forms of their present stem :

1) Verbs in **r**, like **nērian** (**nērgan**, **nērgan**, **nērigean**, etc., 175.2), *save*. These retain the single consonant at the end of the radical syllable (227) in all forms of

the present, and likewise the derivative *j* (176) except in the ind. 2 and 3 sing. and the imp. 2 sing. (410).

2) Verbs in other consonants, like *frēmman*, *execute*; *settan*, *set*, etc. These originally geminate the final consonant of the stem in all forms of the present (227) except the ind. 2 and 3 sing. and the imp. 2 sing., and therefore become long in all these forms, thus losing the derivative *j* (176).

In Anglian these two groups are well distinguished from each other, but in Southern English the old relation is much disordered by leveling and new formations.

NOTE 1. Like *nerian* are inflected, for example, *berian*, *strike*; *derian*, *injure*; *erian*, *plow*; *ferian*, *carry*; *herian*, *praise*; *amerian*, *purify*; *scierian*, *arrange*; *á-*, *bescierian*, *separate, deprive* (75. 1); *werian*, *defend*; *gewerian*, *clothe, dam up*; *byrian*, *pertain*; *onhyrian*, *emulate*; *snyrian*, *hasten*; *spyrian*, *inquire*; *styrian*, *stir*; and, with loss of *h*, also LWS. *pwyrrian*, *adversari* (for EWS. **ŵwierian*, from **pwiorhjan*, 218, note 2).

Like *frēmman* originally form their presents:

a) Verbs in *m*, *n*, and the liquid *l*: *grēmman*, *provoke*; *tēmman*, *tame*; *trymman*, *confirm*; *ŝennan*, *stretch*; *wennan*, *accustom*; *clynnan*, *sound*; *dynnan*, *resound*; *hlynnan*, *bellow*; **hellan*, *conceal*; **áscíellan*, *shell*; **syllan*, *sully*; add *cwēllan*, etc. (407. 1).

b) Verbs in the spirants *s*, *þ*, *f*, *g* (geminated *bb*, *cg*, 190; 216. 1): *cnyssan*, *thrust*; *hrissan*, *shake*; *scēŝŝan*, *injure* (also strong, 392. 4); *swēŝŝan*, *swathe*; *wreŝŝan*, *support*; *ásweŝŝan*, *put to sleep, kill*; *wēc(e)an*, *agitate*; *ŝic(e)an*, *receive* (also strong, 391, note 8); *lēc(e)an*, *lay*; *byc(e)an*, *buy* (407, notes 7 and 8).

c) The verbs in the stops *d*, *t*, and *c*: *hrēddan*, *snatch, save*; *átredan*, *investigate*; *cnyttan*, *knit*; *hwēttan*, *incite*; *lēttan*, *hinder*; *settan*, *set*; *spryttan*(?), *sprout*; add *cwēcc(e)an*, etc. (407, note 9).

NOTE 2. In Ps. the difference between the two modes of formation is still clear throughout, and so in R.¹ and North., except for the occasional lack of *j* after *r* in the first group (409, note 1); fluctuation between single and double consonant in verbs of the second group,

410, note 3, does not belong here). The poetry, too, has the old system well preserved.

In WS. the irregular verbs of 407 generally preserve the type of the second group in the present (but cf. 407, note 2), though in the regular verbs the mode of formation of the first group is very early extended, either in part or wholly, to those of the second group which end in a continuous consonant (nasal, liquid l, spirant). So the Cura Past. already has, beside *frēmman*, *trymman*, *cnyssan*, a few forms like *trymian*, and exclusively such as *grēmian*, *lēmian*, *tēmian*, *beħellan*, *syllan*, *wrēðian*; add Or. *ðenian*, LWS. *bēðian*, *bathe*, *ascyllan*, *hrisian*, etc. Hence, in the case of most verbs in m, n, l, s, þ, forms with gemination do not occur at all in pure WS.; only *frēmman*, *trymman*, *cnyssan* persist to LWS. (beside *frēmian*, *trymian*). The verbs in bb and cg yield more rarely to this new formation: *swēfian*, *heġian*, instead of *swēbban*, **heġgan*, *hedge in*.

NOTE 3. In LWS. texts all the verbs in -ian which originally belong to the jo-class frequently pass over to the inflection of the Second Weak Class: *nērian*, pres. *nērie*, *nērast*, *nērað*; *nēriað*, pret. *nērode*, like *frēmian*, pres. *frēmle*, *frēmast*, *frēmað*; *frēmiað*, pret. *frēmode*, etc.

NOTE 4. More rarely are certain of these verbs, especially *frēmman* and *trymman*, treated like original long stems, yielding forms like part. *gefrēmmed*, *getrymmed*, pret. *trymde*.

401. *Formation of the preterit.* 1) The verbs in the stops d and t take the ending -de or -te in the pret., without a middle vowel: *hrēddan*, *hrēdde*; *lētтан*, *lētte* (402. 2). On *sēttan*, and the verbs in c, see 407. 1.

2) The verbs which end in continuous consonants (liquids, nasals, spirants) take in the pret. the ending -ede (from older -idæ, 44, note 1) and a single (not geminated) consonant at the end of the stem: *nērian*, *nērede*; *frēmman* (*frēmian*), *frēmede*; (*ðennan*) *ðenian*, *ðēnede*; *cnyssan*, *cnysede*; *sceððan*, *sceðede*; *swēbban*, *swēfede* (190); *węcg(e)an*, *węgede*, etc. (on *lęcg-ean*, *lay*, see 407. 1, and note 7).

NOTE 1. Here also preterits without a middle vowel are occasionally formed: *wegde*, *ðigde*, *cnyssde*, North. L. *scēðde*, *bisueððun*; only later does a transfer of the double consonant of the present to the preterit probably occur: *cnyssede*, etc.

NOTE 2. In LWS. the *-ede* of the preterit is very frequently replaced by *-ode* (400, note 3).

402. *Formation of the past participle.* 1) The ending is, in general, Early OE. *-id*, Common OE. *-ed* (44, note 1); the final consonant of the stem is single, as in the pret.: *genęred*, *gefremed*, *gecnysed*, *geswefed*, etc. In the inflected forms the vowel of the ending is retained (144. a): *genęredes*, etc.

2) The verbs in *d* and *t* show peculiar variations (410. 1). In Anglian they have the full ending *-ed* in the uninflected form, and before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, but syncopate the vowel of the ending in the inflected forms which begin with a vowel: *gesetęd* (from *settan*, 407. 1), infl. *gesettum*, etc., but *gesetędne*, *gesetędre*, *-ra*. Pure WS., on the other hand, generalizes the syncopation: *áhređ(d)*, *gelet(t)*, *geset(t)*, infl. *gesettum*, like *gesetne*, *gesetre*, *-ra*, etc.; less pure WS. texts fluctuate.

B) ORIGINAL LONG STEMS AND POLYSYLLABLES

403. *Formation of the present-stem.* The whole present-stem of the disyllabic verbs has *i*-umlaut whenever the radical vowel admits (on forms with *io*, *eo*, beside *ie*, etc., see 100. 2, and note 2). The derivative *j* is lost except after vowels and diphthongs, as in *ciegan*, *call* (408, note 13).

For examples of this numerous class see 404 ff.

NOTE. Among the polysyllabic verbs the derivatives in **-ettan** (Goth. **-atjan**) are especially to be noted, like **bliccettan**, *lighten*; **lic(c)ettan**, *feign*; **roccettan**, *utter*; **sporettan**, *spur*, as well as the deformed compounds **qndettan**, *confess*; **ōnettān**, *incite*; **ōrettan**, *battle* (43, note 4). These have gemination of the derivative **t** according to 227, although simple **t** is often written after a weak syllable (231. 4).

404. Formation of the preterit. The ending of the preterit is **-de**, which is in general attached immediately to the radical syllable. The **i**-umlaut is retained: **hieran**, *hierde*; **dēman**, *dēmde*.

NOTE 1. The **-de** arose by syncope (144) from prehistoric **-ida**. This syncope is in general very stable, except that there is great fluctuation in the verbs in mute + liquid or nasal, which, were they regularly formed, would develop a syllabic liquid or nasal in the pret. (358, note 4):

a) **nemnan**, *name*, has **nemde**, with loss of the **n** (so also R.¹ L.), beside LWS. **nemnode** (406, note 4).

b) In EWS. syncope is the rule in the other verbs with a short vowel before cons. + **l**, **m**, **n**: **eglan**, *ail*; **seglan**, *siglan*, *sail*; **prysman**, *smother*; pret. **egilde**, **segilde**, **sigilde**, **prysmde** (compare poet. **oferfæōmde**, from **oferfæōman**, *embrace*); also frequently later **efnan**, **ræfnan**, *execute*; there also occur later forms in **-ede**, like **bytlede** Cura Past., from **bytlan**, *build*, **sigelede** Chron., LWS. **efnede**. Angl. are here only Ps. **árefnde**, beside **árefnede**, L. **genægledede** and **geefnade**.

c) In verbs with a closed syllable, or one containing a long vowel, before the consonant-group, EWS. regularly has **-ede**: **symblan**, *feast*; **wrixlan**, *change*; **frēfran**, *comfort*; **hyngnan**, *hunger*; **timbran**, *build*; **ofersylefran**, *plate with silver*, pret. **symblede**, **wrixlede**, **frēfrede**, **hyngrede**, **timbrede**, **ofersylefrede** (a single exception is **wyrsmde** Cura Past. MS. C, in contrast with **wyrsmde** MS. H, from **wyrsmān**, *suppurate*, 185); compare also verbs like **diēglan**, *conceal*; **biecnan**, *beckon*; **forglēndran**, *devour*, etc. This **-ede** is very commonly replaced later by **-ode**, as in the case of the short stems (400, note 3; 401, note 2), and hence present forms according to Class II then appear also: **frēfriān**, **hyngriān** (**hingriān**, 31, note), **timbriān**, etc.

Of the Anglian texts, Ps. always has *-ade*, according to Class II: *dēglade*, *bēcnade*, *hyngrade*, *timbrade*; R.¹ several *hyngrade*, beside once *hyngrede*; R.² *dēglde*, *dēgelde*, beside *bēcnede*, *hyncrede*, and *bēcnade*, *frōfrefrede*, *timbrade*, L. *dēgelde*, *hyn(c)gerde*, *timberde*, beside *frōfrefrede*, *lēōrede* (from *lēōra*, *anoint*), and *bēcnade*, *timbrade*, *glēndrade* (a few others are doubtful). The forms with *-a-* are, at least in Ps., wholly restricted to the pret. (or past part., 406, note 5), and have no auxiliary inflection of the present according to Class II.

NOTE 2. On North. forms in *-ede*, *-ade*, in the case of the usual long-stemmed verbs, see 406, note 6.

405. As the consequence of collision between the *d* of the ending and the final consonant of the stem, there result in certain verbs a number of minor variations from the normal form, which will be easily understood by reference to the general phonetic laws. The most important are:

1) The following verbs take the ending *-de* without undergoing any special change:

a) Those in a single liquid or nasal (except in the group mute + liquid or nasal, 404, note 1): *hieran*, *hierde*, *hear*; *dælan*, *dælde*, *divide*; *dēman*, *dēmdē*, *judge*; *cwielman*, *cwielmde*, *kill*; *wēnan*, *wēnde*, *expect*; *bærnan*, *bærnde*, *burn*, etc.;

b) The verbs in the single spirants *f* and *s*, those in *g* (including *ng*), and those in vowel or diphthong + *d*: *geliefan*, *geliefde*, *believe*; *liesan*, *liesde*, *release*; *fēgan*, *fēgde*, *join*; *fylgan*, *fylgde*, *follow*; *lædan*, *lædde*, *lead*, etc.

For the verbs in *w* see 408. 2.

NOTE 1. To a) belong, for example: *fēran*, *go*; *læran*, *teach*; *stieran*, *steer*; *ſīan*, *kindle*; *cēlan*, *cool*; *hælan*, *heal*; *tælan*, *persecute*; *flīemān*, *rout*; *gīeman*, *care*; *hāeman*, *marry*; *benāeman*,

deprive; *rȳman*, *vacate*; *hīenan*, *deride*; *lāenan*, *lend*; *māenan*, *lament*; *striēnan*, *gain*; *ænan*, *gallop*; *giernan*, *covet*; *wiernan*, *refuse*, and many others.

Verbs in *f* and *s* are, for example: *drāfan*, *drive*; *drēfan*, *trouble*; *lāfan*, *leave*; *āliefan*, *permit*; *hwierfan*, *turn*; *oftyrfan*, *stone*; *beclȳsan*, *enclose*; *tōcwȳsan*, *crush*; *fȳsan*, *hasten*; *glēsan*, *gloss*; *rāesan*, *storm*; *tāesan*, *tear*, etc.

NOTE 2. The verbs in vowel or diphthong + *g*, like *bīeg(e)an*, *bend*; *drȳg(e)an*, *dry*; *fēg(e)an*, *join*; *āflieg(e)an*, *pursue*; *for-gæg(e)an*, *transgress*; *swēg(e)an*, *resound*; *wrēg(e)an*, *censure*, etc. (for the verbs with *g* from Germ. *j*, like *cīeg(e)an*, etc., see 408. 3), and those in *ng* (or *ncg*, 215, note 2), like *gleng(e)an*, *adorn*; *hring(e)an*, *ring*; *ymbhring(e)an*, *enring*; *lēng(e)an*, *lengthen*; *mēng(e)an*, *minge*; *spreng(e)an*, *sprinkle*; *tēng(e)an*, *hurry away*, are regular.

In the case of the verbs in *l*, *r* + *g*, like *fylg(e)an*, *follow*; *ābylg(e)an*, *grow angry*; *biērg(e)an*, *taste*; *hyrg(e)an*, *bury*; *āwlerg(e)an*, *curse*; *āwyrēg(e)an*, *strangle*, etc., the secondary changes of the *g* (213, note; 214. 5, and note 11) are to be considered, which chiefly concern the pret. (and past part.), and then the pres. Hence forms like North. pret. R.² *fylligde*, *āwerigdon*, beside *fylgde*, *bibyrgdon*, L. *berigde* (*birigde*), *āwærigde*, *āw^arigde* (*fylegdon*?), beside *byrgde*, *fylg(e)de*, LWS. pret. *fylligde*, *-wyrigde*, or *fylide*, *-wyrīde*, and *fiil(g)de*, *-wiri(g)de* (31, note), together with pres. inf. *fylli(g)an*, *-wyrī(g)an* (*fiil(g)an*, *-wiri(g)an*), etc.

NOTE 3. So, too, the verbs in *d* (for those with preceding consonant see 5, below) are generally quite regular: *bāedan*, *coerce*; *brāedan*, *roast*; *brāedan*, *broaden*; *cīdan*, *chide*; *dīedan*, *kill*; *ēaḡmēdan*, *humble*; *fēdan*, *nourish*; *gefrēdan*, *perceive*; *hlȳdan*, *carouse*; *hȳdan*, *hide*; *nīedan*, *force*; *rāedan*, *counsel*, *read* (cf. also 395, note 3); *scrȳdan*, *clothe*; *sprāedan*, *spread*; *geḡiedan*, *associate*; *underḡiedan*, *subdue*; *wāedan*, *clothe*; *wēdan*, *rage*, etc.; only in North. is the *dd* of the pret. frequently simplified: L. *fōde*, *lāde*, plur. *brāedon*, *cīdon*, etc., Rit. 2 sing. *gilādest* (for *fōdde*, etc.).

NOTE 4. Of verbs ending in the sonant stop *b* (190) there seems to be only *cemban*, *comb*, with pret. *cemde*.

2) The verbs in *p*, *ḡ* are regular in EWS., but in LWS. generally convert the *ḡd* of the pret. into *dd*: *cȳḡan*, *manifest*, pret. *cȳḡde*, LWS. *cȳdde* (cf. also 406, note 3).

NOTE 5. Here belong, for example, *clæðan*, *clothe*; *cwīðan*, *lament*; *áhýðan*, *devastate*; *læðan*, *accuse, hate*; *nēðan*, *venture*; *sēðan*, *affirm*; *oferswīðan*, *overcome* (382, note 2); *wræðan*, *rage*, etc.

3) Gemination is simplified: *fyllan*, *fylde*, *fill*; *áfieran*, *áfierde*, *remove*; *wemman*, *wemde*, *defile*; *cennan*, *cende*, *beget*; *cyssan*, *cyste* (the *t* according to 4. *b*), *kiss*.

NOTE 6. So also, for example: *fiellan*, *fell*; *spillan*, *destroy*; *stillan*, *still*; *cierran*, *turn*; *mierran*, *mar*; North. *cnylla*, *knock*; *forestemma*, *hinder*, etc. (cf. also 4. *b*).

NOTE 7. Now and then gemination is preserved in the pret. by an etymological spelling, especially in North.: L. *fyllde*, *cerrde*, etc.

4) The ending *-de* becomes *-te* *a*) after the surd stops *p*, *t*, *c*: *cēpan*, *cēpte*, *keep*; *yppan*, *ypte* (under 3), *reveal*; *grētan*, *grētte*, *greet*; *scēnc(e)an*, *scēncete*, *pour out*; *wýsc(e)an*, *wýscete*, *wish*; *īec(e)an*, *īećete*, *increase* (on *īhte*, etc., see 407. 2); *b*) after the surd double spirants *ff* and *ss*, simplified according to 3: *pyffan*, *pyfte*, *puff*; *cyssan*, *cyste*, *kiss*; *c*) after *x*: *liexan*, *liexte*, *shine*.

NOTE 8. Here belong, for example:

a) With *p*: *cīepan*, *buy*; *bediepan*, *dip*; *drýpan*, *moisten*; *hīepan*, *heap*; *beriepan*, *rob*; *ástiepan*, *rob*; *clyppan*, *embrace*; *rēmpān*, *hasten*; *scierpan*, *sharpen*; *scierpan*, *clothe*; *wierpan*, *throw oneself*; *cyspan*, *fetter*; *hyspan*, *mock*, etc.;

b) With *t* after a vowel (for cons. + *t* see 5): *bāetan*, *bait*; *bētan*, *atone for*; *fāetan*, *adorn*; *hāetan*, *heat*; *hwītan*, *whiten*; *mētan*, *meet*; *nāetan*, *annoy*; *rētan*, *rejoice*; *spāetan*, *spit*; *swāetan*, *sweat*; *wāetan*, *wet*, etc.;

c) With *c* after a consonant (for vowel + *c* see 407. 1, 2): *ádwæsc(e)an*, *extinguish*; *ofōdrysc(e)an*, *oppress*; *ácwēnc(e)an*, *extinguish*; *drēnc(e)an*, *drown*; *scēnc(e)an*, *pour out*; *scrēnc(e)an*, *trip up*; *sēnc(e)an*, *sink*; *tōstēnc(e)an*, *dissipate*; *swēnc(e)an*, *plague*; *wlēnc(e)an*, *make proud*, etc.

wýsc(e)an (LWS. *wīscan*, 31, note) sometimes loses its *c* in the pret. in LWS.: *wīste*, beside *wīscete*, *wýscete*; similarly in Ps. *gehnisc-tun*, for *gehniscetun*, from *hniscan*, *mollire*.

NOTE 9. Here belong the verbs in **-ettan** (403, note), like **ꝥndettan**, pret. **ꝥndette**, etc.

NOTE 10. In LWS. there very rarely occurs the etymological spelling **-de**: **ádwæscdon** *Ælfr. Can.*, **hyspdun** *Matt. 27. 44*; compare also **gigiscdæ**, *oppilavit* *Ep.*; **reḡsde** *Corp.*, from **reḡsan**, *censure*. This spelling is somewhat commoner in North. L., especially in the newly formed weak preterits of strong verbs (381, note): **slēpde**, **grippde**, **græppde**, from **slēpa**, **grīpa**; but also forms like **ēcde**, **scenēcde**, **genēolēcde**, **gemōētd(o)n**, and such as **styltde**, **styldte**, **stylde**, **gescyrdte**, **bōēdte**, plur. **geḡæsdon**, from **stylta**, *be astonished*, *perplexed*; **scyrta**, *shorten*; **bōēta**, *atone for*; **fæsta**, *fast* (cf. 5); so also Rit. **slēpdē**, **gidrenēcde** (add the infl. past. part. **gisvōenēcdo**).

5) After a consonant + **d**, **t**, the **d** of the ending is entirely lost: **sēndan**, **sēnde**, *send*; **gyrdan**, **gyrde**, *gird*; **ēhtan**, **ēhte**, *persecute*; **fæstan**, **fæste**, *fast*; **ḡyrstan**, **ḡyrste**, *thirst*, etc.

NOTE 11. Here belong also, for example:

a) With consonant + **d**: **byldan**, *build*; **-gyldan**, *gild*; **onhiēldan**, *incline*; **behyldan**, *flay*; **iēldan**, *defer*; **scildan**, *shield*; **spildan**, *destroy*; **wieldan**, *rule*; **onbryrdan**, *incite*; **hierdan**, *harden*; **áwierdan**, *injure*; **ꝥndwierdan**, *answer*; **geendebyrdan**, *arrange*; **bēndan**, *bend*; **blēndan**, *blind*; **lēndan**, *land*; **pyndan**, *confine*; **sciēndan**, *abuse*; **tēndan**, *kindle*; **wēndan**, *turn*, etc.

b) With consonant + **t**: **ágyltan**, *trespass*; **sieltan**, *salt*; **wieltan**, *roll*; **hiertan**, *hearken*; **scyrtan**, *shorten*; **myntan**, *intend*; **ácræftan**, *devise*; **gedæftan**, *arrange*; **hæftan**, *confine*; **áfyrhtan**, *frighten*; **hyhtan**, *hope*; **liehtan**, *illumine*, *alleviate*; **ryhtan**, *direct*; **tyhtan**, *incite*; **eḡstan**, *hasten*; **fylstan**, *assist*; **hierstan**, *fry*; **hlæstan**, *freight*; **hlystan**, *listen*; **hyrstan**, *equip*; **læstan**, *perform*; **lystan**, *desire*; **mæstan**, *fatten*; **nistan**, *nest*; **reḡstan**, *rest*; **forḡræstan**, *crush*; **áwēstan**, *ravage*, etc.

NOTE 12. Only occasionally are there etymological spellings: **begyrdde**, **fæstte**, **hyhtte**, etc.

406. The ending of the past participle is OE. **-ed**, from Prim. OE. **-id** (44), as in the case of the short

stems (402), so that here also i-umlaut is uniform. For the attachment of the ending the same rules apply as for the short stems (402), so far as regards the uninflected form and the cases which have a termination beginning with a consonant. Before a termination beginning with a vowel the *e* of the *-ed* is always syncopated, and the rules of 405 apply. Examples of the various types are: inf. *hieran*, uninfl. part. *gehiered*, acc. sing. masc. *gehieredne*, etc., plur. *gehierde* (405. 1); *cȳðan*, *gecȳðed*, *gecȳðedne*, *gecȳðde*, LWS. *gecȳdde* (405. 2); *fyllan*, *gefylled*, *gefylledne*, *gefylde* (405. 3); *scęnc(e)an*, *gescęnced*, *gescęncedne*, *gescęncete* (405. 4); *grętan*, *gegręt(ed)*, *gegręt(ed)ne*, *gegrętte* (405. 4; 402. 2); *sęndan*, *gesęnd(ed)*, *gesęnd(ed)ne*, *gesęnde*; *ęhtan*, *geęht(ed)*, *geęht(ed)ne*, *geęhte* (405. 5; 402. 2); *nęmnan*, *genęmned*, *genęmnedne*, *genęmde*; *timbran*, *getimbred (-od)*, *getimbredne (-odne)*, *getimbrede (-ode)* (404, note 1).

NOTE 1. The rules for syncope in the inflected cases are still rigorously observed in Ps. On the other hand, EWS. has occasionally, and LWS. very generally, extended the full form *-ed* to all case-forms: *gedēmede*, *gefyllede*, etc. So occasionally also in R.¹ (*gecęrrede*, *ábælgede*, *áwærgede*), and frequently in R.² L. Rit.

NOTE 2. Conversely, LWS. verbs in *p* and *nc* occasionally syncope in the uninflected form: *beclypt*, *gegypt*, *ádrenct*, *forscęnct*, *besęnct*, *geswęnct*; others are rare: *forswæld*, *gebærnd*, *ymbtyrnd*, *gęglęngd*, *geębyllgd* (on *gecȳdd* see note 4); so R.¹ once *forlærd*.

NOTE 3. The rules for syncope (402. 2) apply to verbs in *d*, *t*; hence pure WS. *gelæd(d)*, *gegyrd*, *gesęnd*, acc. *gelædne*, *gegyrdne*, *gesęndne*, etc. Yet EWS. has certain new formations with the full *-ed*: *gelæded*, *begyrded*, *gesęnded*, *gehæfted*, *áwęsted*, and, with especial frequency, *underðieded*, *gescłended*. In pure LWS. such forms are extremely rare (*oferbræded*, *áwęnded* Ælfr. Hom.), while less pure WS. texts vary.

In LWS. the form *gecyð(d)* occurs for EWS. *gecyðed*, probably as a new formation on the pattern of inflected forms like plur. *gecyðde*, from *gecyðde* (cf. 405. 2).

Of the Anglian texts, R.¹ has a few isolated short forms in *befæst* and *gesett* (407, note 6), beside *-læded*, *-hýded*, *sended*, *-mæted*, *-wœsted*, *-seted*, etc.

NOTE 4. The *n* of *nemnan* (cf. 404, note 1. a) is only exceptionally retained in case of syncope: plur. *genemnde* Chron. Forms like *genemnede* Cura Past. Or. also occur.

NOTE 5. Anglian verbs in mute + liquid or nasal (404, note 1. b, c) have *a*-forms even in the part.: Ps. *gedēglad*, plur. *gewetrade*, beside *frēfred*, *timbred*; L. *gedēglad*, beside *dēgled*, *timbred*, etc. (R.¹ only *áfrēfred*, *wēpned*; R.² *gidēgled*, *gifrēfred*, *wēpned*-).

NOTE 6. In R.¹, and especially in the North. L. Rit., these *a*'s extend to other verbs: R.¹ *gefyllad*, *nemnad*, *wærgad*, beside frequent *-ed*; in North. especially in verbs in *d*, *t*: L. *gesendad*, *áwoendad*, *gewēdad*, *gebōetad*, *gemōetad*, *-fæstad*, *œhtad*, *geondetad*, Rit. *giscildad*, *glwoendad*, *unáscendado*; *girihtad*, *glihlhtad*, *gehæftad*, *glbōetadum*, but also L. *gehwerfad*, *gecælcad*, *gedrengad*, *geliorad*, Rit. *álēsad*, *gimengadum*, etc.

NOTE 7. The North. verbs in *d*, *t* occasionally have forms with *n*, on the analogy of the strong verbs, instead of the inflected case-forms with syncope: L. *ymbgyrdeno*, *gesendeno*, etc., *gewælteno*, *geseteno* (*insetna*, *onsetenum*, etc.), Rit. *áwoerdeno*, *insetenum* (R.² has only two *onsetnum*, from *setta*, 407, note 6). In Rit. this new formation goes further: *gllēfeno*, *gllēseno*, for *gllēfdo*, *gllēsdo*. Cf. also 414, note 4.

C) IRREGULAR VERBS

407. 1) As early as the West Germanic or even the Germanic period, a few verbs joined the termination of the preterit and past participle directly to the radical syllable, without the intervention of the middle vowel *-i-*. These forms consequently occur in OE. without *i*-umlaut, though a few verbs have introduced it secondarily on the analogy of the regular verbs of the *jo*-class, which have also influenced them in a few other respects (especially in North.).

The verbs in a guttural, so far as their lack of a middle vowel goes back to Germanic, take *ht* in the pret. and past part. (232); a radical nasal disappears before this *ht* (45.5; 186.1).

Here belong:

<i>cwēllan</i> , <i>kill</i>	<i>cwealde</i>	<i>geweald</i>
<i>dwēllan</i> , <i>deceive</i>	<i>dwealde</i>	<i>gedweald</i>
<i>sellan</i> , <i>give</i>	<i>sealde</i>	<i>geseald</i>
<i>stellan</i> , <i>place</i>	<i>stealde</i>	<i>gesteald</i>
<i>tellan</i> , <i>count</i>	<i>tealde</i>	<i>geteald</i>
<i>settan</i> , <i>set</i>	<i>sette</i>	<i>geset(t)</i>
<i>lēgean</i> , <i>lay</i>	<i>lēgde</i>	<i>gelēgd</i>
<i>bycgean</i> , <i>buy</i>	<i>bohte</i>	<i>geboht</i>
<i>cwēccēan</i> , <i>shake</i>	<i>cweahte</i>	<i>geweaht</i>
<i>drēccean</i> , <i>vez</i>	<i>dreahte</i>	<i>gedreaht</i>
<i>lēccean</i> , <i>moisten</i>	<i>leahte</i>	<i>geleaht</i>
<i>rēccean</i> , <i>narrate</i>	<i>reahte</i>	<i>gereahht</i>
<i>strēccean</i> , <i>stretch</i>	<i>streahte</i>	<i>gestreaht</i>
<i>ðēccean</i> , <i>cover</i>	<i>ðeahte</i>	<i>geðeaht</i>
<i>wēccean</i> , <i>wake</i>	<i>weahte</i>	<i>geweaht</i>
<i>lēccean</i> , <i>seize</i>	<i>læhte</i>	<i>gelæht</i>
<i>rācēan</i> , <i>reach</i>	<i>ræhte, rāhte</i>	<i>geræht</i>
<i>tācēan</i> , <i>teach</i>	<i>tæhte, tāhte</i>	<i>getæht, getāht</i>
<i>rēccean</i> , <i>reck</i>	<i>rōhte</i>	—
<i>sēccean</i> , <i>seek</i>	<i>sōhte</i>	<i>gesōht</i>
<i>þēncean</i> , <i>think</i>	<i>þōhte</i>	<i>geþōht</i>
<i>ðyncean</i> , <i>seem</i>	<i>ðūhte</i>	<i>geðūht</i>
<i>wyrcean</i> , <i>work</i>	<i>worhte</i>	<i>geworht</i>
<i>bringan</i> , <i>bring</i>	<i>brōhte</i>	<i>gebrōht</i>

NOTE 1. For *cwēllan* North. has R.² *cwēlla*, pret. *cwēlede*, L. *cwēlla*, *cwœlla*, pret. *cuœl(e)de*, part. *-cwēlled*.

NOTE 2. Beside *dwēllan*, *dwealde* LWS. has also *dwēllan*, *dwēlede* (400, note 2). Angl. has only L. *geduēllas*, part. *dwœl-ende*.

NOTE 3. For EWS. *sellan* LWS. has generally *syllan*, for **siellan* (compare the inf. *siollanne* in a Merc. charter of about 840?). Ps. R.¹ R.² Rit. have also *sellan*, *-a*, L. an unexplained *sealla*, beside

sella; add in L. Rit. a few present forms with **i**, like L. **sillo**, **sileð**, **-ið**, Rit. **sila**, **-sileð**, **-ið**, beside the regular forms with **e**.

Anglian has the pret. **saelde** (158. 2), part. **sald**; but R.¹ has also one **sælde**, and L. a few instances of **sealde**, modeled after the pres. **sealla**.

NOTE 4. Of **stellan** there is an isolated part. **onsteled** in Or. (beside **ásteald**); add North. pret. **ástelidæ** Cædmon's Hymn (other instances lacking in Anglian).

NOTE 5. So, too, **tellan** has a part. **geteled** in Or., the poetry, and Bede. Ps. has pres. **tælest**, **-eð**, pret. **talde**, part. **getald**, L. pres. 3 sing. **telles**, part. **geteled**, Rit. pret. **giteled**.

NOTE 6. WS. **settan** has gone over completely to the conjugation of the regular verbs (401. 1; 402. 2), and even in the other dialects there are only scanty traces of a pret. and part. without umlaut. Ps. has **settan**, pret. **sette**, part. **geseted**, plur. **gesette**; R.¹ **settan**, pret. **sette** (once **sætte**), part. **-seted** and **-sett**; North. R.² **setta**, pret. **sette** (**sete**), part. **-seted** (**-setet**, **-setted**), infl. **-setedo**, beside **-set(t)e** and **onsetnum** (406, note 7), L. **setta**, pret. **sette** and **sætte**, part. **geset(t)ed**, **-t**, beside infl. **gesattedo** and **geseteno**, etc. (see under R.²).

NOTE 7. On WS. forms like **læde**, **gelæd**, beside **legde**, etc., see 214. 3. Angl. has: R.¹ **lægde**, **-un**, part. **álægd**; R.² pres. opt. **lēcce**, etc., pret. **lēgdun**, L. pres. plur. **geleccgas**, pret. **lēgdon**, part. **álægd**.

NOTE 8. The pret. of **bycgean** is found also in Ps. R.¹ R.² L., the past part. also in Ps. R.¹ L. Rit.

NOTE 9. In the Cura Past. the verbs in **ēc** still regularly have **ea** in the pret. and past part.: **leahte**, **reahte**, **ástreahte**, **áweahte**, part. **gereahht**; but MS. H already has occasional **ē**, on the analogy of the pres.: **lēhte**, **rēhte**, **ástrehte**, part. **gerēht**, beside **reahte**, **áweahte**, part. **áweahht**; in later MSS. this **ē** occurs throughout.

LWS. often has **wrēcc(e)an** for **wēcc(e)an** (so already once in Cura Past.).

In Angl. these verbs have **æ** (162. 1) in the pret. and past part., save in so far as **ē** has intruded from the pres., or other new formations have occurred. Ps. has pres. sing. **cwēceð**; pres. part. **lēccende**; inf. **rēcenne**, etc.; pret. **rēhte**, part. **gerēht** (once **geræht**); pres. **ðeces**, **-eð**, pret. **biðehton**; pres. **áwēcce**, etc., pret. **áwæhtes**, **áwehtes**, part. **áwæht**; R.¹ pres. 3 sing. **ræccet**, imp. **árēcce**, part. **gerēht**; **bepæht**; North. R.² inf. **áwēcca**, etc., pret. **áwehte**, plur. **áwæhtun**,

á-, **giwēhtun**; L. pret. **gecœcton**, part. **gecwœccad**; inf. **áreċganne**, pret. **unðehton**, part. **beðeht**; inf. **áwæcca**, **áwēcece**, **áuœcece**, etc., pret. **-wēhte**, **wœhte**, **-wæhte**; according to Lindelöf, Rit. part. **cvœct**, pret. **-wœhte**.

NOTE 10. **læcc(e)an** has North. **lāhte** R.² L., instead of WS. **læhte**; on the shortening of the vowel in the pres. see note 12.

NOTE 11. The verbs in **æc** have nearly always **æ** in the pret. and past part., but Or. has also **gerāhte**, **betāhte**, beside **geræhte**, **betæhte**; and forms like **tāhte** appear even in very late texts. Ps. has only the imp. pres. **getæc**, R.¹ pres. **ræceþ**, **getæceþ**, pret. **getāhte**; North. R.² L. Rit. **rāhte**, R.² L. **tāhte**, L. **betāht**.

NOTE 12. The pres. of **reċcean** (from Germ. ***rōkjan**?) has, like **læcccean** (note 10), a short vowel, and hence West Germ. gemination before **j**. The form **rēcean**, which is theoretically demanded, hardly occurs with certainty (one **rēce wé** in *Ælfr. Coll.*); compare also North. R.² L. **ne reces þu**, *non ad te pertinet* Mark 4. 38 (not ***rōces**, with **œ**, 150. 4).

NOTE 13. The pret. of **sēc(e)an** (Ps. R.¹ **sōecan**, R.² L. **sōeca**) and **ðenc(e)an** is also found in Ps. R.¹ R.² L., **sōhte** also in Rit., the part. **-sōht** also in Ps. R.² L.; on the other hand, the pret. and past part. of **ðync(e)an** (R.¹ has also once pres. **ðincaþ**) do not occur in Ps. R.¹ R.² L. Rit.

NOTE 14. The part. of **wyrc(e)an** occurs exceptionally as **gi-**, **gewarht** once each in Corp. and Or. (pret. **warhte**, part. **gewarht** also Chad). LWS. sometimes has **wrohte**, **geworht** by metathesis, instead of **worhte**, **geworht**.

The compound **forwyrc(e)an**, *ruin*, forms in LWS. the pret. **for-wyrhte**, part. **forwyrht**.

For WS. **wyrcan** Ps. has always **wircan** (164. 2) with another ablaut-grade (only one very extraordinary **wyrcetun**, *aptaverunt*, in the Hymns), R.¹ **wirce**, beside **wyrca**, L. also a few **i**-forms; otherwise **y** prevails in North. also (one 1 plur. **uē gewerco uerco**, *operemur opera* L. is manifestly miswritten; LWS. **wircan** belongs under 31, note). The pret. and part. **worhte**, **geworht** do not occur in Ps., but in R.¹ R.² L. Rit.; R.² has likewise one **wrohte**, and L. a few instances of **worohte**.

NOTE 15. The pres. **bringan**, which belongs to the strong conjugation, prevails in pure WS., as well as in Ps. R.¹. Beside it stands the weak **bręng(e)an** (OS. **bręngian**); this also occurs now and again in EWS., and once in R.¹, while it is the prevalent form in Kent. North.

(R.² L. Rit.; but L. has also one *bringað*). The pret. and part. are always *brōhte*, *brōht*, except that the poetry has a strong part. *brungen*.

2) In imitation of these verbs, the other verbs in *c*, which were originally regular, are apt later to take *ht* in the pret. and past part., but retain the *i*-umlaut: EWS. *īec(e)an*, *increase*, pret. *īecte*, part. *geīced*, plur. *geīecte*, but LWS. pret. *ih̄te*, *ȳhte*, part. *geih̄t*, *geȳht*, plur. *geih̄te*, *geȳhte*, etc.

NOTE 16. Here belong, for example: *ðrycc(e)an*, *oppress*; *cnycc(e)an*, *tie*; *wlēcc(e)an*, *warm*; *bepācc(e)an*, *deceive* (not EWS.); *gewācc(e)an*, *weaken*; *sȳc(e)an*, *suckle*; the polysyllabic *olēcc(e)an*, *ōllec(e)an*, *flatter*; and the compounds in *-lācc(e)an*, like *nēalācc(e)an*, *approach*.

NOTE 17. In EWS., Cura Past. has pret. *ōlēhte*, beside *ōlēcte*, but otherwise regularly pret. *ðrycte*, *ī(e)cte*, part. *-ðrycced*, *onwācced*, plur. *-ðrycte* (*-ðryccede*, 406, note 1); Or. *nealāhte*, beside *geīeced*; Ælfric, on the other hand, always has *ht*: *ih̄te* (*ȳhte*), *-prihte*, *bepāhte*, *gewāhte*, *sihte*; *ōlāhte* (from *ōlāccan*, conformed to the verbs in *-lāccan*), *nēalāhte*, part. *geih̄t*, *gedyrst-*, *geefen-*, *gerih̄t-lāht*, etc.; only exceptionally has Ælfr. forms like part. *gedēced*, *gerih̄tlācced*, from *dēc(e)an* (?), *smear*; *rihtlācc(e)an*, *justify*.

Of *wlēcc(e)an* there occur the part. *gewlēced*, *gewlēht*, and *gewlācced*, *gewlāht*.

Bede has also a pret. *ærendwreahte* without umlaut, from **ærend-wrēcc(e)an*, *carry a message*.

NOTE 18. Of the Angl. texts Ps. has pret. *ēcte*, but, from *nēo-*, *nīo-*, *nēhlāccan*, *nēollican*, the pret. *nēo-*, *nīo-*, *nīalāhte*; R.¹ part. *geēced*, and, from pres. *nēo-*, *nēalliceþ*, part. *genēleccende*, the pret. *-nēollicte*, beside *-nēalehte*.

North. R.²: pret. *ēcte*, part. *-ēced* (**nēolicga* conjugates like the Second Class: 3 sing. *nēolicað*, *-as*, pret. *nēolicade*, *nēalocade*, part. *ginēollicad*); L. pret. *geðryhton*, part. *gecnyht*, beside pret. *tōcnuicete*; then *ēcde* (also *ēcte* and *ēcade*), part. *-ēced* (also *-ēcad*), and, from *nēolēca*, *-laca*, the pret. *nēolēcde* (rarely *-lēcte*, *-licde*, also *-lēcade*, *-lacede*, *-locedon*; *nēa-*, *nēlēcde*); Rit. pret. *-cnyhttest*, part. *-cnyht*, *-ðryht*, beside pret. *-nēolēcdest*.

NOTE 19. In the case of certain isolated forms a full paradigm can only be conjecturally framed. So to the pret. *scyhte*, *seduced*, may be assigned an infinitive **scycc(e)an* (from *scucca*, *seducer*); to the part. *geclihht*, *collecta* (Scint.), an infinitive **clyccean*; to *ofhæhte*, *hacked off* (Ælfr. Ep. Past.); *bedæhte*, *tradidit* (Hpt. Gl.), the infinitives **hæcc(e)an* and **dæcc(e)an* (compare *læcccean* under 1, above).

408. 1) The verbs in *rw* and *lw*, like *gierwan*, *prepare*; *sierwan*, *deceive*; *smierwan*, *anoint*; *wielwan*, *roll*, originally lose their *w* before the *i* of the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. (358), the imp. 2 sing. (410), the pret. (401), and the past part. (402), according to phonetic law (173. 2), and hence become short-stemmed in these forms. Compare, for example, from *gierwan*, the 2 and 3 sing. *gierest*, *giereð*, imp. *giere*, pret. *gierede*, part. *gегiered*.

However, in LWS. numerous transformations occur, the *w* being either generalized or totally eliminated, or forms (with or without *w*) constructed according to the Second Weak Conjugation (400, note 2). The individual verbs vary greatly; in the case of a few, like *hierwan*, *deride*; *nierwan*, *distress*, there are no examples of the original conjugation.

NOTE 1. With the interchange of *rw*, *lw* and *r*, *l* must originally have been connected a variation of the radical vowel, since breaking of the basic vowel *a* or *e*, *i* (in *smierwan*) could only have taken place before *rw*, *lw*; for example, *smierwan*, but *smirest*, *smireð*, pret. *smirede*. This change, however, has left no distinct traces except in *smierwan* (note 5). In the case of *gierwan* all difference was regularly effaced: *gierwan* (98. a), *gierede* (98. b), etc.

NOTE 2. The *w* is restored earliest in the uninflected past part.: compare Ep. *gigeruuld*, Corp. *gegerwid*, *gesmirwid*. In the poetry, too, the metre often demands *gегierwed*, *gegyrwed*, beside *gegyred*.

NOTE 3. For the most part *gierwan*, *gyrwan* adheres in WS. to the older inflection, but there is also a part. *gegyrwed* (cf. note 2), imp. *gier* and *gierwe* Cura Past., beside *gyre*; in LWS. there is a rare 3 sing. *gyrað*, opt. *gyrie*, pres. part. *gyriende*, past part. *gegyrwod*.

Ps. has regularly *gerwan*, pret. *gerede*, part. *gered*. In R.¹ and North. occur a few forms which belong here, but only with the meaning *clothe*: R.¹ pres. part. *gærwende*, pret. plur. *ungeredun*, past part. *ungegeradne*; R.² past part. *gegerwed*, L. pret. plur. *ge-, ongeredon*, Rit. pret. *gigeride*; for the rest we have these replaced by R.¹ *gearwiga* (opt. plur. *iarwan*, pret. *iarwede*, part. *iarwad*), R.² *georwiga*, L. Rit. *gearwiga*, according to Conj. II (inf. *gegeruiga*, 3 sing. *geruað*, *gegerues*, part. *gigerwad* L., perhaps result only from inexact spelling).

NOTE 4. *sierwan* is regular in EWS. prose: Or. *sierwan*, pret. *si(e)rede*, part. *ge-*, *besi(e)red* (LWS. also *gesyrwed*); but likewise already Or. 3 plur. *-sieriað*, while LWS. has pret. *syrode* (Kent. Ps. *bese-rode*), beside *syrede*. LWS. usually generalizes the *w*: pres. 3 sing. *syrwð*, pret. *syrwde*, or, according to the *ð*-class: *syrwian*, pret. (*syrwode*), plur. *syrwedon*.

NOTE 5. In both EWS. and LWS. there are numerous relics of the original inflection of *smierwan*, like Cura Past. pres. plur. *smi(e)rewað*, pret. *smirede*. To these are soon added the new formation *smirian*, *smyrian* (already imp. plur. *smiriað* Cura Past. MS. H), which later conjugates also according to the *ð*-class: pres. 3 sing. *smyrað*, imp. *smyra*, pret. *smyrode*, part. *gesmyrod*. Moreover in less pure WS. texts there frequently occur forms with *e*: *smērwan*, *smērian*, opt. *smēruwe*, *smērige*, pret. *smērede*, etc.

Ps. has only pres. 3 sing. *smireð*, pret. *smirede*, R.¹ once imp. sing. *smēre*; **smeorwan* may be assumed as the inf., at least for Ps. (159. 5). North. has R.² inf. *smiranne*, pret. *smiride*, *-ede*, plur. *-edun*, L. inf. *smiriane*, pret. *smiride*, plur. *smiredon*, Rit. part. *gesmearvad*.

NOTE 6. The *w* is almost everywhere generalized in *hierwan* and *nierwan* (Angl. Ps. R.¹ *herwan*, Ps. *nerwan*: WS. pres. 3 sing. *hyrwð* (R.¹ *herwep*), imp. *hyrw*, pret. *hyrwde* (Ps. *herwdun*), part. *gehyrwed* (Ps. *genērwed*, plur. *genērwde*), etc. Occasionally these verbs have adopted forms of the *ð*-class: *hyrwian*, *nyrwian*, pret. *hyrwode*, *nyrwode*, etc. Only sporadic are poet. inf. *her-i(ge)an* (?), Blickl. pret. *nyrugde* (for **nyruwde*, compare Blickl. pret. *heruwde*), and the very late part. *geniered*.

NOTE 7. **wielwan* has pret. *wylede*, part. *bewyled*, *gewylwed*, besides forms according to the 5-class, like pres. 1 sing. *wylewige*, part. *bewylewud*, and inf. *wyllan*, pret. *wylode*.

The vocalism is obscure in **ágælwān*, *alarm* (part. *ágælwede* Or., part. *ágælwed*, *ágelwed* Boeth.).

NOTE 8. *frætwan*, *adorn*, has in the pret., beside *frætweðe*, part. *gefrætweð* (404, note 1), generally *frætweðe*, part. *gefrætweð* according to Conj. II; subsequently there are added present forms according to Conj. II.

NOTE 9. *ræswan*, *conjecture*, seems also to have had a similar inflection, as there occur also *ræslan*, and pret. *ræswode* and *ræsoðe*.

2) The verbs in long vowel or diphthong + *w*, like *læwan*, *betray*; *forslæwan*, *dawdle*; *getriewan*, *believe*; *iewan*, *show*, as a rule generalize the *w* in all forms: pret. *iewde* (sporadic *ætiede*, 174. 3), part. *geiewed*, plur. *geiewde*, etc.

NOTE 10. Beside *iewan*, *ywan*, there occurs, as early as EWS., *ēowan*, pret. *ēowde*, beside pres. *ēowian*, according to Conj. II, to which is subsequently added a pret. *ēowode*. More rare (and probably never in pure WS.) is *ēawan*, especially in the pret. *ēawde*.

Kent. has *ēwan* (= WS. *iewan*, 159. 4), beside *ēawan* (pres. 3 sing. *atēwō*, *atēauō* Kent. Gl.), Ps. *otēawan*, pret. *otēawde* (only once each *otēowan*, *otēowde*), R.¹ (*æt*)*ēawan*, pret. *ēawde*, *ēawde*; North. R.² (*æt*)*ēowa*, pret. *ēowde*, part. *ēowed* (once *ætēwed*), L. (*æd*-, *æt*-, etc., *ge*-)*ēawa*, pret. *-ēawde*, *-ēawde* and *-ēawade*, part. *-ēawed* and *-ēawad* (very rare by-forms like inf. *æthēwene*, pres. 3 sing. *æðēuaō*, imp. *ædeew*, pret. *ætēuwdæ*, part. *ætēuwed*, also pret. *æðēadon*, *æwade*), Rit. *æðēawa*, pret. *-ēawde* and *-ēawade*, inf. part. *æðēawde*, beside *æðēawad*.

NOTE 11. Under WS. *læwan* there occurs in North. R.² the pret. *bilēde*, L. *beleede*, with loss of *w* (174. 3).

NOTE 12. Here perhaps belongs also *ŷywan*, *press*, *oppress* (from **pūwjan* ?), pret. *ŷyweðe*, part. **geŷywed*, inf. *geŷyweðe*. Add, with very peculiar vocalism, Or. *ápēwde*, poet. part. plur. *geþēwde*; for other forms see note 18.

3) The verbs with orig. *aw*, *iw* manifest much irregularity.

NOTE 13. The verb *cīeg(e)an*, *cīgan* (*cȳgan*), *call*, *name*, goes back to a basic form **kaujan*, and in WS. transfers the *g* to all the forms: pret. *cī(e)gde*, part. *gecī(e)ged*, plur. *gecī(e)gde*, etc. The Anglian forms are: Ps. *cēgan*, pret. *cēde* (from **kawida*, **kewida*, with loss of *w*, according to 173. 2), R.¹ *cēgan*, *cāgan*, pret. *cēgde*, *cāgde*, once *ceigde*, part. *gecāged*; North. R.² *cēga* (once imp. *ceig*), pret. *cēgde*, rarely *ceigde* and *cēde*, part. *gicēged*, once *giceed*, plur. *gicēgde*; L. *ceiga*, pret. *ceigde*, rarely *ceigede*, part. *geceiged*, rarely *geceyged*, *gecēged*, -*id*; *geceigd*, *geceid*, *gecēd*, infl. *geceig(e)do*, etc.; Rit. *ceiga*, pret. -*ceigde*, -*celde*, part. *geceiged*, infl. *giceigido*, *giceigdo*, *giceido*. On the conjugation of the present see 409.

NOTE 14. Thus inflects the only poet. *hēgan*, *perform* (from **haujan*, ON. *heyja*), pret. *hēde*, part. *gehēd*; similarly the non-WS. poet. *strēgan*, *strew* (Goth. *straujan*), pret. *streiddæ*, -*e* Erf. Corp., *strēdun* R.²

NOTE 15. The latter is represented in WS. by *strewian*, pret. *strewede*, later *streowian* (*streawian*), *streowede* or *streowode*, according to Conj. II.

To the same type belong the isolated part. *á-*, *gebeowed*, *polished* (OHG. *gibeuilt*), and the verbs *sl(o)wian*, *sew*; *spi(o)wian*, *spew* (compare ON. *sýja*, *spýja*, from **slujan*, etc.), of which the ancient inflection is scarcely illustrated save in the oldest texts (past part. -*sluud* Ep., -*slowid* Corp., infl. (instr.) *bisluudi* Ep., *bisiudi* Corp.); later they pass over to Conj. II, except that *spiowian* has also pret. *spiowde*, *spēowde* (beside plur. *splowedon*; all in the poetry).

NOTE 16. Like the original long stems (compare especially note 12) inflects usually *hlȳwan*, *hlēowan*, *warm* (compare ON. *hlýja*, from **hlujan*), pret. *hlȳwde*, infl. pret. *gehlȳwde*; but there also occur pret. *hlȳde*, part. *gehlȳd*, and, in the poetry, a pres. plur. *hlēoð*.

4) A further series of variations is presented by the contract verbs which belong here (373; 414, note 5).

NOTE 17. Here belongs, with a stem originally ending in a vowel, **dīan*, **dēon*, *suckle*: Ps. pres. part. *mildēondra*, R.¹ *diendra*, North. L. part. *diendra*, pret. 2 sing. *gediildes*, *suxisti* (in R.² miswritten as *deðedes*). On the other hand, *hnæg(e)an*, *neigh* (from **hnaifjan*) generalizes the *g*: 3 sing. *hnægð*, etc.

NOTE 18. The number of contract verbs with the stem originally ending in *h* is larger: *hēan*, *exalt*, pret. *hēade*, part. *hēad* (Angl. *geheed* Bede); *tȳn*, *train*; *ðȳn*, *press* (from **pūhjan*, OHG. *dūhen*, compare *ðȳwan*, note 12 above), **ðrȳn*, *bind* (pret. *geðrȳde*, *expressit* L., part. *geðrȳd* Gl.); *rȳn*, *roar*; **scȳn*, *persuade* (OHG. *scūhen*), pret. *tȳde*, part. *tȳd*, infl. *tȳde* (also late pret., etc., *tydde*, 230, note 1); also inf. *ðēon* (cf. 117. 2, and note) and hence pret. *ðēode*, infl. part. *ðēode*(?). Add sporadic forms like *gewēð*, *depravat*, pret. *gewēde* (from **wōhjan*); pret. plur. *tēdan* (from **tōhjan*); inf. **wēn*, **tēn*?

Uncontracted forms occur in the oldest texts, like pres. 3 sing. *fæhit*, pret. plur. *fædun* Ep. from **fahjan*, *paint*; participial noun *scȳhend* Ep., *scȳend* Corp., *seducer*, past part. *ápȳrȳd*, *expilatum* Corp. Later they are rare (there occur LWS. forms like *ic ðȳge*, pret. *ðȳgde*; R.¹ plur. *scȳap*).

Conjugation of the Weak Verbs of Class I

409. *nȅrian* and *frēmman* represent the conjugation of the original short stems, *dēman* of the original long stems (to these are added, according to 372, the presents of the strong *jo*-verbs). For examples of the former class see 400; of the latter, 403; for *gierwan* and *cīegan* see 408. 1, 3. For the form of the endings in general, compare 354 ff.

PRESENT

Indicative

Sing. 1. <i>nȅrie</i>	<i>frēmme</i>	<i>dēme</i>	<i>gierwe</i>	<i>cīege</i>
2. <i>nȅres(t)</i>	<i>frēmes(t)</i>	<i>dēm(e)st</i>	<i>gierest</i>	<i>cīeg(e)st</i>
3. <i>nȅreð</i>	<i>frēmeð</i>	<i>dēm(e)ð</i>	<i>giereð</i>	<i>cīeg(e)ð</i>
Plur. <i>nȅriað</i>	<i>frēmmað</i>	<i>dēmað</i>	<i>gierwað</i>	<i>cīegað</i>

Optative

Sing. <i>nȅrie</i>	<i>frēmme</i>	<i>dēme</i>	<i>gierwe</i>	<i>cīege</i>
Plur. <i>nȅrien</i>	<i>frēmmen</i>	<i>dēmen</i>	<i>gierwen</i>	<i>cīegen</i>

Imperative

Sing. 2.	nere	frēme	dēm	gierwe	cieg
Plur. 1.	nērian	frēmman	dēman	gierwan	ciegan
2.	nēriað	frēmmað	dēmað	gierwað	ciegað

Infinitive

nērian	frēmman	dēman	gierwan	ciegan
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Participle

nēriende	frēmmente	dēmende	gierwende	ciegende
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PRETERIT

Indicative

Sing. 1.	nērede	frēmede	dēmde	gierede,	ciegede,
2.	nēredes(t)	frēmedes(t)	dēmdes(t)	etc.	etc.
3.	nērede	frēmede	dēmde		
Plur.	nēredon	frēmedon	dēmdon		

Optative

Sing.	nērede	frēmede	dēmde	gierede,	ciegede,
Plur.	nēreden	frēmeden	dēmden	etc.	etc.

Participle

Sing.	nēred	frēmed	dēmed	gier(w)ed,	cieged,
Plur.	nērede	frēmede	dēmde	etc.	etc.

NOTE 1. For graphic variants of **nērian**, etc., like **nērgan**, **nē-ig(e)an**, etc., see in general 175. Ps. has only *g*, as in **gedērgan**, **onstýrgan**, ind. pres. 1 sing. **hērgu**, -o, **nērgu**, **biscērgu**, **swērgu**, **biwērgu**, plur. **hērgað**, **genērgað**, **swērgað**, opt. **nēрге**, **hērgen**, part. **hērgende**, **genērgende**, **swērgendan**; R.¹ inf. **swērige**, **swēрге** (and one doubtful **swērigæ**, probably opt.), and **fērganne**. North. R.² inf. **swēriga**, infl. **hērganne** and **smiranne** (408, note 5; cf. also 400, note 2), part. **hērgende** and **hērende** (cf. also 412, note 11), L. inf. **suœri(g)a**, **suœri(g)a**, **suœrige**; **gestýrige**, -ege, infl. **hērganne** and **smiriane**, part. **ēriende**, **hērgende**, **hērgiendū** and **hērende**,

ind. pres. 3 sing. *suērias*. Rit. has, beside (g)hēriað, gihergað, also ind. opt. pres. 1 and 3 sing. *ginere*, without *j*.

On Southern English forms like *sēcean*, -eað, *hnāgean*, -eað, etc., beside *sēcan*, *sēcað*, etc., see 206. 3. *b*; these -e-'s are wholly lacking in Ps. R.¹ R.² L. Rit.

NOTE 2. The -e of the 1 sing. preterit indicative is often lost in North. before the pronoun *ic*: *sægdig* L., *ēadig*, *cærdig* Rit., for *sægde ic*, *ēade ic*, *cærde ic*, etc. (355, note 4).

410. Strictly speaking, the inflectional endings were originally the same in both classes, as they still are in the preterit. The actual differences in the conjugation of the OE. present are as follows:

1) The *j* of the suffix -jo- was retained before an unlike vowel in the case of the short stems in *r*, like *nerian* (for occasional analogical exceptions in North. see 409, note 1); in the other short-stemmed verbs it caused, before its disappearance (177), gemination of the radical final consonant in West Germanic, according to 227, as in *frēmman*. After long stems it was dropped without having produced gemination.

NOTE 1. After a vowel or diphthong *j* either (a) totally disappeared, and contraction resulted, as in *hēan*, *tȳn*, etc. (408. 4), pres. *hēa*, *tȳ*, 2 sing. *hēast*, *tȳst*, 3 sing. *hēað*, *tȳð*, plur. *hēað*, *tȳð*, etc., or (b) is preserved, as in WS. *cīegan*, etc. (408, note 13).

In Ps. *cēgan* inflects ind. pres. *cēgu*, **cēst*, *cēð*, *cēgað*, opt. *cēge*, imp. *cē*, **cēgan*, *cēgað*, etc. (408. 3); that is, the *j* disappeared whenever the ending contained the vowel *i*. On the other hand, R.¹ has pres. 3 sing. *cāgeþ*, imp. *cāg*; North. R.² pres. 3 sing. (g)*cēgeð*, -es, -að (once *giceeð*), imp. *gicēg*, L. pres. 3 sing. *geceigeð*, -es, -að, plur. *geceigas*, -es, imp. *geceig*, *geceige*.

2) In the forms which have *i* in the ending, that is, the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. and the imp. 2 sing., the *j* of the suffix was lacking as early as West Germanic,

and therefore could produce no gemination. Accordingly, the present of the originally short stems exhibits a regular interchange between geminated and simple consonants.

NOTE 2. Especially to be noted in this connection are the statements of 190 and 216, relating to *cg* as the geminate of *g*, and *bb* as that of *f*: *lēcg(e)an*, *lēgeð*; *swēbban*, *swēfeð*, etc.

NOTE 3. The interchange disappears with the transformation of the WS. verbs in question according to 400, note 2. Where gemination is kept, irregularities sometimes creep in subsequently: *sēlest* and *sēllest*, *sēleð* and *selleð*, etc. This is especially marked in North. in L.

3) The imp. sing. of the short stems ends in *-e* (Goth. *-ei*), as in *nere*, *frēme*, while it regularly suffers apocope in the long stems (133. c): *dēm*, *hīer*, etc.

NOTE 4. In LWS., forms like *dēme*, *hīre*, are very common. They are rarer in the case of original short stems, like *telle* (on EWS. *glier* and *glierwe*, etc., see 408, note 3); yet sporadic forms do occur, after the manner of the long stems, as, for example, *cwell*.

NOTE 5. While in Ps. the inflection of the imp. has been kept in all strictness, in R.¹ and North. there is already considerable irregularity; for, though the long stems mostly retain the forms without ending, yet forms with *-e* also occur, like R.¹ *gelēse*, *cēge*, L. *celge*, *gehēre*, *-lēore*, *sēnde*, Rit. *girihte*, *givoende*, *geinlihte* (but not R.²). The original short stems have in R.¹ forms like *swēr*, *hef*, *sēl*, beside *sēle*, *āpene*, and, with transference of gemination, *selle*, *sētte*, *āreccē*, *bebycge*; North. R.² *sitt*, *sēl*, beside *site*, *sēte*, (bi) *byge*; L. *gbidd*, *sitt*, *llg*, *byg*, *geneŕ*, *sēl*, *onsett*, beside *suŕe*, *geneŕe* (and *ferig*, according to 412, note 8), Rit. *gibidd*, *āhef*, *sēl*, beside *ginŕe* and *gibidde*, *gitrymme*.

4) On syncope in the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. see 358. 2, and note; 359.

5) All verbs which in WS. form their inf. in *-ian* are apt to develop in LWS. forms according to the Second Conjugation (400. 2, 3).

2. SECOND WEAK CONJUGATION

411. 1) The present forms of this class may all be referred in essence to a common stem ending in Germ. **-ōja-**; only in the ind. 2 and 3 sing. and the imp. 2 sing. is this replaced by a shorter stem in **-ō-**.

In OE. the original **-ōja-**, having first become umlauted **-ēja-**, passed into **-eja-**, **-ija-**, etc.; hence, for example, inf. *lōcian*, *look*, from **lōkōjan*, **-ējan**, etc., opt. *lōcige*, from *lōkōjai*, **-ēja**, etc.

The **ō** of the present stem, on the other hand, regularly appears as **a**; hence ind. 2 and 3 sing. *lōcas(t)*, *lōcað*, imp. *lōca*, from **lōkōs*, **lōkōþ*, **lōkō*, etc. (for variations see **412**, notes 5 and 8).

NOTE 1. Since the **i** of the *ia*, *ie* was developed from **ō**, **ē** at a comparatively late period, it never caused **i**-umlaut; forms which have this umlaut do not belong here, but to the Third Conjugation (**415**; **416**, and note 11).

NOTE 2. For the same reason, the forms in *ia*, *ie* have no proper **u-** or **o/a-**umlaut; where it appears notwithstanding, as in *clioplan*, *cleoplan*, beside *cliplan*, etc. (**416**, note 14. c), it has been adopted from forms without **i**.

2) The preterit and past participles are formed from the shorter stem in **-ō-**. OE. has for this **ō** either (as in the present) an **a**, or else **u**, **o**; hence, for example, either *lōcade* or *lōcude*, **-ode**, part. *lōcad*, or *lōcud*, **-od**, from older **lōkōda*, **lōkōd*. For details see **413**.

NOTE 3. On the intrusion of forms from the Second Conjugation into the First see **400**, note 3.

NOTE 4. The number of verbs belonging to the Second Conjugation is very large, especially as denominatives under this head can be formed from a great many nouns. Here, for example, belong such short stems as *bodian*, *announce*; *ccorlan*, *lament*; *dwolian*,

err; *hollan*, *obtain*; *hopian*, *hope*; *laðlian*, *invite*; *lofian*, *praise*; *macian*, *make*; *mōnian*, *exhort*; *sticlan*, *stab*; *warian*, *observe*; and such long stems as *āscian*, *ask*; *cēapian*, *trade*; *costian*, *tempt*; *eahtian*, *estimate*; *eardian*, *dwell*; *earnian*, *earn*; *endian*, *end*; *fōndian*, *try*; *fundian*, *aspire*; *gearwian*, *prepare*; *grāpian*, *handle*; *hērgian*, *devastate*; *hīgian*, *hasten*; *behōfian*, *need*; *hwearfian*, *wander*; *lēanian*, *reward*; *lōcian*, *look*; *locclan*, *entice*; *meldian*, *announce*; *offrian*, *sacrifice*; *scēawian*, *see*; *sōmnan*, *collect*; *tioh-hian*, *arrange*; *ðaccian*, *pat*; *ðonclan*, *thank*; *wealwian*, *roll*; *weorðian*, *honor*; *wincian*, *wink*; *wīslan*, *guide*; *wōndrian*, *wander*; *wuldrian*, *glorify*; *wundian*, *wound*; *wundrian*, *wonder*, and many others. Of special groups we may emphasize the derivatives

a) in *-(e)clan*: *bedecian*, *beg*; *ástyfecian*, *extirpate*; *áswefecian*, *eradicate*; *feldclan*, *delay*; *gearcian*, *prepare*;

b) in *-(e)gian*, mostly formed from adjectives in *-ig*: *dysegian*, *be foolish*; *hef(e)gian*, *oppress*; *met(e)gian*, *moderate*; *wel(e)gian*, *enrich*; *hālgian*, *hallow*; *gemyndgian*, *remember*; *sārgian*, *suffer*; *scyldgian*, *sin*; *syngian*, *sin*; *wērgian*, *weary*; *wītgian*, *prophecy*;

c) in *-(e)nian*: *gedafenian* (Ps. *gedeafenian*, R.¹ *gedafnian* and *gedæfnian*, North. *gedæfniga*), *befit*; *fag(e)nian*, *rejoice*; *hafenian*, *grasp*; *op(e)nian*, *open*; *war(e)nian*, *take warning*; *fæstnian*, *fasten*; *lācnian*, *cure*; *wilnian*, *desire*; *wītnian*, *punish*;

d) in *-(e)sian*: *ēf(e)sian*, *shear*; *eg(e)sian*, *terrify*; *bletsian*, *bless* (198. 4); *blīðsian*, *blissian*, *rejoice*; *clānsian*, *cleanse* (185; 186. 2); *gītsian*, *covet*; *grimsian*, *rage*; *hrēowsian*, *pity*; *iersian* (*iorsian*), *be angry*; *māersian*, *celebrate*; *miltisian*, *repent*; *rīcsian*, *rīxian*, *rule*; *unrōtsian*, *grieve*; *untrēowsian*, *defraud*, etc.

NOTE 5. Many verbs which are wholly or chiefly conjugated in the *ō*-class have passed over to it from the ancient *ē*-conjugation: compare, for example, *ārian*, *honor*; *cunnian*, *try*; *folgian*, *follow*; *hōngian*, *hang*; *hatian*, *hate*; *lōngian*, *long*; *līcian*, *please*; *sārian*, *be sad*; *scōmian*, *be ashamed*; *sorgian*, *grieve*; *sparian*, *spare*; *ðollan*, *suffer*; *ðrōwian*, *suffer*; *wacian*, *keep watch*; *wunian*, *dwell*, with OHG. *ērēn*, (Goth. *kunnan*, pret. *-aida*), *folgēn*, *hangēn*, *haz-zēn*, *langēn*, *līchēn*, *sērēn*, *scamēn*, *sorgēn*, *sparēn*, *dolēn*, *druoēn*, *wachēn*, *wonēn*, etc.; especially belong here the numerous derivatives from adjectives: *ácealdian*, *grow cold*; *gestrongian*, *grow strong* (OHG. *arcaltēn*, *strangēn*), etc.

The forms of these verbs are included without comment in what here follows, so far as they coincide with those of the *ō*-verbs; the

remains of the ancient *ē*-conjugation, which in a few cases have been preserved, are collected in 416.

3) The WS. paradigm of this class is:

PRESENT		
<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Optative</i>	<i>Imperative</i>
Sing. 1. <i>lōcige</i>	} <i>lōcige</i>	Sing. 2. <i>lōca</i>
2. <i>lōcas(t)</i>		Plur. 1. <i>lōclan</i>
3. <i>lōcað</i>		2. <i>lōclað</i>
Plur. <i>lōclað</i>	<i>lōcigen</i>	
<i>Infinitive</i>		<i>Participle</i>
<i>lōclan</i>		<i>lōclende</i>
PRETERIT		
<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Optative</i>	
Sing. 1. <i>lōcode</i>	} <i>lōcode</i>	
2. <i>lōcodes(t)</i>		
3. <i>lōcode</i>		
Plur. <i>lōcodon</i>	<i>lōcoden</i>	
PARTICIPLE		
<i>-lōcod</i>		

On the endings of the individual forms compare the general rules in 354 ff. On contract verbs see 414, note 5.

412. The inflection of the present is tolerably constant in most of the dialects, especially in WS. On Anglian peculiarities in the inflected inf. and past part. see notes 3 and 9 ff. Otherwise scarcely any but North. (and in some measure R.¹) shows important variations.

NOTE 1. The *ia*, *ie* of the ending are, likewise by the testimony of prosody, generally disyllabic (they have therefore syllabic *i*: *lō-cl-an*, etc., not unsyllabic *j*: **lōc-jan* or **lō-cjan*, etc.). In a few texts

accents occasionally occur over the *i*, which perhaps points to a secondary displacement of the quantity of the *i* (lōcian, from *lō-cījan); thus forms like inf. *gemīdlīan*, *gelācnīgan*, plur. *cllepīaþ*, opt. *forhradfen*, etc., are written by one scribe of MS. H of Cura Past.

In the case of the ancient *ō*-verbs (for ancient *ē*-verbs see 416, notes 2 and 15), monosyllabic *ge* occurs only exceptionally for disyllabic *ie*, especially in certain later texts, probably as a Kenticism: compare participles like Blickl. *gnorningende*, Benet inf. *hādgenne*, *mōtgenne*, etc.; yet already in MS. H of Cura Past. one *lufge* (for *gellorning* see 416, note 15).

NOTE 2. In the EWS. texts *-ia-* is generally written (as indicated in the paradigm), much more rarely *-igea-* or *-iga-* (the latter is almost entirely wanting in MS. C of Cura Past.); but also very exceptionally *-ea-*: Cura Past. *plegean*, Or. *hergean*. On the other hand, *-ige(n)* prevails throughout the ind. 1 sing. and the opt., and *-ie*, *-ien* are in the background; but in the part. *-iende* prevails over *-igende* (though there are sporadic *hergende* Or., *yðegende* Cura Past.; compare sporadic LWS. parallels like *hlēoðregendum*, *mægeregan* Gl.); in the infl. inf. (cf. note 10) *-ienne* interchanges with *-igenne*.

In LWS. *-ia-* on the whole prevails; but *-io-* occurs also in the opt. plur., as in *lufion*, *leornion*, note 7 (very exceptional are spellings like *wissigon*, *pēnigeon*). Variation occurs in the case of *-ie-*. *Ælfr. Hom.* has mostly *-ige-*, even in the infl. inf. and in the part., as in *bodigenne*, *bodigende*, while in *Ælfr. Gram.* the part. shows a strikingly large number of *-iende*'s; beside *-igende*, *-ige* being otherwise prevalent. In the case of other texts, it is often impossible to discover a rule.

Kent. Gl. are in general like WS.: regular *-ia-*, generally *-ige* (*āfestnige*, *onscunige*, *getimbrige*, but *liornle*), but always part. *-iend(e)*.

Ps. has almost always *-iu* (1 sing.), and so *-ia-* and *-ie-* (only one each of *gearwīgu*, *ondettīgaþ*, *-igen*, *genyhtsumegende*, *gedeafineaþ*; for *ðiwgen* see 416, note 15); R.¹, on the other hand, has both *-ige* (but one *wundriende*) and *-iga-*, *-igæ-* (yet also a few *-ia*'s, and one *hālsio*).

Of the North. texts, R.² has always *-ige-*, *-igo-*, and generally *-iga-*, rarely *-ia-*; L. Rit. have *-ige-*, *-igo-* (though there are the merest exceptions in favor of *-ie-*), but *-ia-* is common, beside *-iga-*.

NOTE 3. One chief difference between Anglian and the other dialects manifests itself in the infl. inf. and in the pres. part. (notes 10, 11). Moreover, R.¹ and North. (and here especially L. and Rit.)

exhibit a number of new formations. Here, on the one hand, there is much confusion between forms with and without **-l(g)-** (hence, for example, L. sing. **lufias**, plur. **lufas**, etc., beside orig. sing. **lufas**, plur. **lufias**); and, on the other, the **a** and the **ia**, **ie** of the endings are joined to form hybrids like ***-aja-**, ***-aje-**, appearing historically as **(-aia-)**, **-age-**, **-ega-**, etc. (hence, for example, plurals in L. like **losaiað**, **duolages**, **eardegað**, beside the older **losigað**, etc.); or, indeed, independent new formations have occurred, on the pattern of other verbs (hence, for example, forms in L. like 1 sing. **ðrōwa**, beside **ðrōuigo**, imp. **hālgig**, beside **hālga**, etc.

Hereafter, these variations are included under the individual forms.

NOTE 4. To WS. Kent. **-ige** of the ind. 1 sing. corresponds in the Ps. **-iu**, more rarely **-io** (355, note 2). R.¹ has, beside **āhsige**, **sōmnige**, one **hālsio**, and a newly formed **ðrōwa**, **þrōwe** (**getimbre** may be an early form, cf. 404, note 1). In North. prevails **-igo** R.² L. Rit., as in **bodigo**, **sōmnigo**, etc.; but forms also occur like R.² **fulwo**, **gihāigo**, **lufo**, rarely **sōmiga**; **lufa**, **milsa**; L. **ðrōuiga**, **hālgiga**, **uuldria**, **uorðige**; **lufo**, **geniðro**; **lufa**, **ðrōwa**, **hālsa**, **milsa**; Rit. **gihāelsiga**, **ginīosige**; **gimyndga**, **gidilga**.

NOTE 5. The **a** of the ind. 2 and 3 sing. in WS. is entirely stable (one **ofersceadoð** Cura Past. MS. C, contrasted with **-að** of MS. H, is suspicious); Kent. Gl. have a few **o**'s, **e**'s: **onscunoð**, **geþafoð**, **ofsticoð**; **geþafoð**, **āreð**; a sporadic **edlēaneð** in Ps. is again suspicious, and so also a sporadic **ádrūgiað**.

R.², on the other hand, beside **-ast**, **-aþ**, etc., has rather numerous **e**-forms, like **endeþ**, **gearweþ**, etc. (also **gearwæþ**), and occasionally **-ia-**: **āriað**, **þrōwiaþ**. In the 2 sing. the North. R.² has for the most part **-as** (one **glowestu**, from **glowiað**, **covet**, 416, note 15, b), in the 3 sing. generally **-að**, beside rare **-eð** (**gisōmneð**, **lufeð**, **gidæfneð**), and again somewhat more common **-igað**, **-iað**, **-ias**: **gisōmnigað**, **ānigað**, **clānsigað**; **wundriað**; **clānsias**, etc. L. has in the 2 sing. forms like **lōcas**, **sōmnas**, etc. (this is the normal form); **lufæstu**, **ōndsuaræstu**, **nivēas**; **worðias**; in the 3 sing. there prevail **-að**, **-as**, beside **-eð**, **-es** (and rare **-æð**, **-æs**: **lufæð**, **clioppæs**); beside new formations, especially in **-iað**, **-ias**, more rarely such as **sōmnigað**, **-as**, **fæstnigeð**, **worðiges**, **syngieð**; **ānegæð**; **dēadages**, **uorðages**, **fæstnagið**, **costaið**, and **sceomiagað**. Rit. has in the 2 sing., beside **-as** (**-ast**), forms like **gliorses**, **eftnives**; **glaiðias** (for such as **rīcsað** see 356, note 2); in the 3 sing., beside a few **-eð**'s, new formations in **-iað**, beside sporadic **gihērsumaiað**, **gimilsageð**, **glārwyrrigeð**.

For the consonantal termination of the 2 and 3 sing. see 356 ; 357.

NOTE 6. In the ind. plur. and the imp. 2 plur. the ending **-iað**, etc. (cf. note 2), is stable in WS. Kent. Ps.; but in R.¹ there occur, beside the usual **-i(g)aþ**, **-iaþ** (sporadically also **scyldigat**, **lōkigæþ**), new formations like **gesōmnaþ**, etc. (sporadically also such as **hreoꝛdeþ**, *speaks*). In North. R.² generally has **-igað**, **-igas**, beside less frequent **-iað**, **-ias**, and in the ind. new formations in **-að**, **-as**, like **gisōmnað**, **lufas**. L. has mostly **-iað**, **-ias** (**-igað**, **-igas**); but there occur also a few instances of **-igeð**, **-iges**, and a fairly large number of new formations like **dēadageð**, **costages**; **ānagað**, **eardegas** (rare by-forms: **losalað**, **ānagað**, **lufagiað**, **aldagiað**, **bodagæð**, **worðai ges**, **ānegas**, **getegðeges**, **clioþþogað**, **scēawgias**), but especially such as **gesōmnað**, **-s** (rarely **-es**: **behōfes**). The Rit., too, beside the usual **-i(g)að**, **-i(g)as**, has a few new formations like **geblōdsað**, **gimērsas**, **gifōerscipeð**.

For the consonantal termination of the ind. plur. see 360. 1; on the abbreviation before a following pers. pron., 360. 3, and note.

NOTE 7. The opt. sing. in WS. and Kent. is regular throughout. For the plur. the general rules of 361 are to be observed. Thus EWS. **-igen** later becomes also **-ian** (even Or. once **āscian**), and then in LWS. predominantly **-ian**, etc., while in Kent. Gl. Kent. Ps. Kent. Hymn **-ian** is uniform.

Ps. regularly has sing. **-ie**, plur. **-ien**; R.¹, beside the predominant sing. plur. **-ige**, also a few **-igæ**'s and sing. **folge**, **getrīowe**, plur. **iarwan**. North. has in R.² sing. plur. **-ige**, less frequently **-iga**; in L., on the other hand, **-iga**, **-ia** prevails, beside less common sing. **-ige**, and new formations like sing. **gerīxage**, **losalge**, **dēadage**, and **geberhtna**, plur. **dēadage**, **lufaiga**, **-e**; similarly in Rit. sing. plur. mostly **-ia**, **-iga**, rarely **-ige**, and new formations like sing. **gimillsage**, **glīdlege**, **giwlitgega** and **gemyndge**, plur. **githoncage** and **glearnigo**.

NOTE 8. In the imp. sing. the ending **-a** is stable in WS. Kent. Ps. R.¹ has, beside **-a**, rather frequently **-e** (also **-æ**, in **lōcæ**). In North., R.² has a sporadic **lōcco**, *look*, beside regular **-a**; L. and Rit., beside **-a**, have a few **-e**'s, and often a new formation in **-ig**: **ārig**, **scēawig**, **hālgig** (cf. also 410, note 5; one **worðiga**, *adora* Rit. is probably to be regarded as inf., and one **geðrēat** L. is perhaps only miswritten).

For the imp. plur. see note 6.

NOTE 9. In the uninfl. inf., **-ian**, etc. (note 2), is generally stable in WS. Kent. Ps. (363. 1, and note 1). R.¹ has, beside **-igan**, **-ian**, also **-ige** (and one **andustriga**), as well as a newly formed **stalle**,

tinterga for WS. *steallian*, *stand*; *tintreglan*, *torture*; in R.² *-iga* prevails (sporadically *-ia*), but also rarely *-ige*; L. has chiefly *-ia*, *-iga*, and *-ige*, together with new formations in *-age*, *-ega*, *-ege*, like *dēadage*, *wīfega*, *āgnege* (sporadic by-forms *lufage*, *geðrēadtaige*, *uundraige*, *hlordagæ*, *gelēcnæge*, *gehorogæ*), and like *gerēofa*, *mīlsa*, *gehāliga*. In Rit. only the regular *-ia*, *-iga* seem to occur with certainty (but cf. 414, note 14. c).

NOTE 10. For the infl. inf. the general rules of 363. 2 hold in WS. Kent.: hence EWS. generally *-ianne*, more rarely *-i(g)enne*, while in LWS. *-i(g)enne* predominates; Kent. *-ienne* Kent. Gl. Kent. Ps., etc.

In Angl., on the other hand, the prevalent forms are without *-i*. Ps. has *-enne*, as in *earnenne* (besides one to *mildsiende*, *miserendi*); R.¹ varies: *scēawenne*, *bīmerene*, *gītsanne*. Of the North. texts, R.² has, beside predominant *-anne*, as in *endanne*, sporadic *bodiganne* (for *wuniganne*, beside *wunanne*, see 416, note 16); in L. *-anne* prevails (but sporadic *losane*, *ēmbēhtane*, *talanna*, and the shortened *scēawenne*), rarely *-enne* (*gehālgenne*, *pīnenne*, *worðenne*) or *-ianne* (*bodianne*, *lufianne*, *worðianne*); Rit. has only *-anne*.

NOTE 11. A similar twofold formation occurs in the pres. part. In WS. Kent. *-i(g)ende* prevails, as might be expected. In Ps. *-iende* likewise predominates, but *-ende* is also very common, and indeed frequently in the same verbs: *blissiende* and *blissende*, etc. R.¹ has, beside (*clīpigende*), *wundriende*, usually *-ende*, as in (*clīppende*, 416, note 14. c), *lōkende*, etc.; exceptionally also *costænde*, *lōcande*, *qndswarande*. In R.² *-ende* is uniform; while in L. it interchanges with *-ande* (beside sporadic *qndswarænde*, and shortened forms like *scēaunde*, *ðrōunde*), and more rarely with *i*-forms, like *geadrigende*, etc. (once also *gidyrsgindum*, compare the older *hlæodrindi* Ep.; for *wunigende*, etc., see 416, note 16). Rit. has, beside *-ande* (*ricsande*, etc.), also *lufende*, *wynsumænda* (for *wunigende*, *lifigændra* see 416, notes 2 and 16).

In the poetry, too, the shorter forms in *-ende* are frequently found, and are very generally to be substituted, as the metre shows, for the manuscript reading *-iende* (see Beitr. 10. 482).

For new formations of a similar kind among the older *jo*-verbs see 409, note 1.

413. The commonest form of the WS. pret. is *-ode*, from Early OE. *-udæ*, *-ude*; *-ade* is rarer in West

Saxon, but characteristic for Kentish and especially for Anglian. Forms with (weakened) **-ed-** are everywhere rarer, but occur in all the dialects.

NOTE 1. Among the oldest texts, Ep. has forms like **áslacudæ**, **suilcudæ**, beside **geregnodæ**, **suornodun**, and **geniðradæ**, **liðthircadæ**; in Corp. **-ade**, etc., prevails; only sporadically there occur **gemærcade**, **ðrōwade**, **tioludun**, which in part belong to older **ē**-verbs.

NOTE 2. In EWS. **-ude** is rather uncommon, and evidently to be regarded as an archaism; plural forms with **u** are wholly lacking here. In LWS., on the other hand, the **u** occurs in part more frequently, and in the plur. as well (evidently as an inverse spelling for **o**): **lōcude**, plur. **lōcudon**, etc.

NOTE 3. In Cura Past. the sing. **-ude** is found in both MSS. twice: **grāpude**, **ðrōwude**; and **-ade** three times: **ðēnade**, **bisnade**, **gesyngade**; but both occur somewhat oftener in one MS. or the other, especially in H. The normal form is **-ode**, plur. **-odon**, etc.; yet for the latter there already occur five instances of **-edon** common to both MSS.: **hīrsumedon**, **bodedon**, **geðafedon**, **wunedon**, **bismredon** (hence especially in older **ē**-verbs); the sing. **-ede** is lacking, with the exception of a single **ofermōðgede** MS. H.

In the Chron., too, **-ode**, plur. **-odon** is the most usual, though the sing. **-ude**, and especially **-ade**, plur. **-adon**, are also somewhat oftener represented (add one plur. **oferhergeadon**).

In Or. the sing. has usually **-ade**, the plur. **-edon**, but also not infrequently sing. **-ode**, plur. **-odon**; to these add one plur. **-adon**, three opt. plur. **-aden**, and four sing. **-ede**.

NOTE 4. The forms with **-ed-** evidently arose first in the plur. There, too, they remain fairly common in LWS., beside the normal sing. **-ode**, plur. **-odon** (and rare **-ade**, **-ude**, plur. **-udon**; cf. note 2), while the sing. **-ede** is quite exceptional.

NOTE 5. Kent. has in Kent. Gl. **onscunede** (416, note 11), **geðafede**, **offrede**, beside the prevalent **-ade**; in Kent. Ps. **lufedest**, beside two occurrences of **þingode** and one of **beserode** (408, note 4).

NOTE 6. In Anglian **-ad** is the constant norm; **-ud-**, **-od-** is, except for 5 **cleopude**, 8 **lufude** Ps. (and frequent **-ade**), decidedly rare: only one each of **duolude** Ps., **hleonudun** R.¹, **trūgude**, **qnd-suearudon** L., **giðrēotodon** R.², **qndsuorode**, **losodun**, **clīopodan**

L. As the instances show, this form of ending is chiefly restricted to the original *ē*-verbs (416, and notes).

Somewhat more common in Ps. R.¹ is *-ed-*, and here, too, the original *ē*-verbs are especially concerned (compare, for example, Ps. 7 times *cleopedun*, 10 times *onscunedun*, etc., beside which there is no plur. *-adun*).

Similar are the conditions in North., except that at least in L. *-edon* seems to be rather commoner as the weakened form of the plur. *-adon* in original *ē*-verbs: *hccedon*, *worðedun*, *ofwundredon*, etc.

NOTE 7. Moreover, L. has a number of occasional new formations, like *scēawde* (*scēaude*, *scēode*; cf. 416, note 17. b), from *scēawiga*, *look*; *hēafegde*, *untrymigdon*, from *hēafiga*, *lament*; *untrymiga*, *be sick* (416, note 11); or, conversely, *ellōdode*, beside *ellōdodegde*, *-igde*, from *ellōdodgiga*, *travel abroad*.

NOTE 8. For forms without a middle vowel, like *trūwde*, *ðeowde*, etc., see 416, note 17. b.

414. The endings of the past participle correspond in general to those of the preterit — WS. generally *-od*, non-WS. generally *-ad*, etc. — but there are many variations in detail.

NOTE 1. The only forms of Ep. which belong here are *fetod*, *gefetodnæ*, *áfūlodan* (all from older *ē*-verbs; cf. 416, note 15. b, and OHG. *fūlēn*); of Corp. *feotod*, *gefeotodne*, beside the prevailing *-ad*, etc.

NOTE 2. In Cura Past., beside the normal *-od*, infl. *-ode*, *-oda*, etc., there are 12 instances of uninflected *-ad*, and one each of *geāgen-udu* (144. b), *gewundedan*, *forrotedan*, in both MSS. alike (*un(ge)-ðinged* and 2 instances of *gewintrede* are formed according to Conj. I); add in C alone 4 of *-ude*, etc., 2 of *-edan*; in H alone 5 of *-ade*, 4 of *-udne*, *-udan*, etc., 2 of *-edan*, etc. The Chron. has, beside 13 instances of *-od* and 4 of *-ode*, etc., 6 of *gefulwad*, 2 of *gewundad*, 1 of *geleapade*, 1 of *gefulluhtud*, 3 of *-horsude*, *-an*. In Or. the uninflected form is usually *-ad*, then *-od* (twice *-ed*), infl. *-ade* or *-ede* (one each of *gebrocde*, *gewundode*).

In LWS. the u, a, e are nearly parallel to those of the preterit.

NOTE 3. Kent. has only *geclænsod* Kent. Ps., and in Kent. Gl. mostly *-ad*, infl. *-ade*, but also *witnod*, *geliðgod*, *gegearwod*,

infl. *gesamnode*, *gemetgode*, *gewitnodum*, and (of older *ē*-verbs) *onscunede* (416, notes 11. c and 15. a), *geġfenedan* (OHG. *ābandēn*).

NOTE 4. In Anglian the norm is uniformly *-ad*, infl. *-ade*, etc.; but Ps. has a few inflected forms like *gesingālede*, *gewundedan*, *-edra*, etc.; R.¹ an. infl. *gesomnede*, beside several instances of uninfl. *-ed*, like *bewēdded* (also one *gegearwæd*); R.² uninfl. *gidæfned*, *losed* (older *ē*-verb, 416, note 11. b); L. Rit. rather frequently uninfl. *-ed*, Rit. also one infl. *giġndvardedo*. Add new formations like Rit. *giġcostiged*, L. *geðrēaten*, *forbodan*, after the pattern of the strong verbs (406, note 7), etc.

NOTE 5 (on 412-414). A few contract verbs are also found among the *ō*-verbs (373; 408. 4), in which the root and the vowel of the ending coalesce in the forms without older *j*. Here belong:

a) **bōlan*, **bōgan*, *boast* (ind. 3 sing. poet. *bōð*, beside LWS. newly formed *bōgað* Scint.); **gōlan*, *lament* (part. *gōlende*, ind. pres. 3 sing. *gōað* Bede); *scōlan*, *scōgan*, *shoe* (ind. 1 sing. *scōge*, *scēoge*, opt. plur. *-scōgen*, imp. sing. *scēo*, plur. *scēogeað*, past part. *-scōd*, *scēod*, North. *gescōed* L., *giġscōed* R.², imp. *giġscēo* Rit.); basic forms **skōhōjan*, etc.

b) *twēog(e)an*, *doubt* (from **twihōjan*, compare OHG. *zwehōn*; pres. *twēoge*, *twēost*, *twēoð*, opt. *twēoge*, part. *twēogende*, poet. also *-twēonde* (412, note 11), pret. *twēode*; Merc. R.¹ ind. pres. plur. *twīgaþ*, pret. 2 sing. *getwīodestu*, plur. *twēodun*, North. R.² ind. pres. 3 sing. *twīas*, opt. *twīoge*, pret. *twīade*, plur. *twīodun*, L. ind. pres. 3 sing. *tuās*, *tuæs*, opt. sing. *getuīga*, pret. *tuīade*, plur. *tuiaton*, *getwīedon*, Rit. pret. sing. *gitvīeda*), and probably **tēog(e)an*, *ordain*, *create*, of which only contract forms seem to occur (ind. pres. plur. poet. *tēoð*, pret. *tēode*, Old North. *tiadæ* Cædmon's Hymn, part. *-tēod*); likewise *frēog(e)an*, *love* (Goth. *friljōn*), ind. pres. 3 sing. *frēoð*, plur. *frēogað* (poet. also *frēoð*), opt. *frēoge*, imp. sing. *frēo*, etc.

c) North. also *gefeaga*, etc., *rejoice* (= WS. *gefeon*, 391. 1, and note 6): R.² inf. *giġfeaga*, *-e*, ind. pres. 1 sing. *giġfeo*, 3 *giġfeað*, part. *giġfeā(a)nde*, *giġfeonde*, pret. *giġfeade*, *giġfeode*, plur. *giġfeadun*; L. inf. *gefeage*, beside *gefea*, ind. pres. 1 sing. *gefeo*, 3 *gefeað*, *-s*, opt. sing. *gefeage*, plur. *gefeað*, part. *giġfeande*, pret. *gefeade*, plur. *gefeadon*, past part. *gefead*; Rit. inf. *giġfeā(g)la*, *giġfeage*, beside *giġfeā*, ind. pres. plur. *giġfeað*, opt. sing. *giġfeage*, plur. *giġfeaga*, imp. plur. *giġfeað*, pres. part. *giġfeande*.

3. THIRD WEAK CONJUGATION

415. This conjugation comprises the few remains of the original ē-class (398. 3) which are still preserved in OE. The class itself falls into two divisions:

1) In the first division there was an alternation in the pres. of the Germ. suffixal forms **-ja-** and **-ai-** (or **-æ-**, as others assume), in the same way as with Germ. **-ōja-** and **-ō-** in the **ō**-class. The **j** of the first of these caused West Germ. gemination of a preceding simple consonant (227), and later, as a rule, **i**-umlaut. The **ai** of the second form appears in WS. as **a** (perhaps in consequence of an early confusion of this class with the **ō**-class), and in Anglian, at least in part, as **e**. The pret. attaches the ending **-de**, and the past part. the ending **-d**, directly to the radical syllable (that is, without West Germ. middle vowel): hence, for example, inf. **sēcġ-(e)an**, from ***sagjan**, ind. pres. 3 sing. **sagað**, North. **sægeð**, etc., from orig. ***sagaiþ**, pret. **sægde**, past part. **gesægd**, etc. In the course of time, however, many dislocations of the older system have supervened, especially in the way of conformity to the inflection of the First or Second Weak Class.

2) The original forms of the second division can only be conjecturally determined. Probably there corresponded to a Germ. **-ja-** of the first division a West Germ. **-ī(j)a-** of this, springing from Indo-Eur. **-ē-jo-**, which may have been then shortened in Prim. OE. to **-i(j)a-** and monosyllabic **-ja-**. This **-(i)ja-** was early enough to cause **i**-umlaut, but not West Germ. gemination; hence, for example, forms like North. R.² inf.

loesga, *loesga*, *be lost* (note 11), from the stem **losējo-*, **losī(j)a-*. The alternative form of the suffix was, as in the first division, *-ai-*, which is represented here, just as there. Fixed rules for the pret. and past part. can not be given, especially as this second division has gone over almost wholly to the *ō*-class, so that only scanty remains of the older formation occur (416. 2, and notes).

416. 1) To the first division belong especially the verbs *habban*, *have*; *libban*, *live*; *sēcge(e)an*, *say*; *hycge(e)an*, *think*, and originally the contract verbs *ṭrēag(e)an*, *rebuke*; *smēag(e)an*, *investigate*; *frēog(e)an*, *free*; *fēog(e)an*, *hate* (West Germ. stem-forms **haḥja-*: **haḥai-*, pret. **haḥ-*; **prauja-*: **prawai-*, pret. **prau-*; **frīja-*: *frī(j)ai-*, etc.). As paradigms we may assume (forms in parenthesis are such as are rarely or never found in WS.):

PRESENT

Indicative

Singular :						
1	<i>hæbbe</i>	{ <i>libbe</i> (<i>lifge</i>)	<i>sēcge</i>	<i>hycge</i>	<i>ṭrēage</i>	<i>frēoge</i>
2	{ (<i>hafas</i> [t]) <i>hæfst</i>	<i>lifas</i> (t)	{ (<i>sagas</i> [t]) <i>sægst</i>	{ (<i>hogas</i> [t]) <i>hyg</i> (e)st	<i>ṭrēas</i> (t)	<i>frēos</i> (t)
3	{ (<i>hafa</i> ṭ) <i>hæf</i> ṭ	<i>lif</i> aṭ	{ (<i>saga</i> ṭ) <i>sæg</i> ṭ	{ (<i>hoga</i> ṭ) <i>hyg</i> (ṭ)	<i>ṭrē</i> aṭ	<i>frē</i> oṭ
Plural :						
	<i>habba</i> ṭ	{ <i>libba</i> ṭ (<i>lifga</i> ṭ)	<i>sēcge</i> (e)aṭ	<i>hycge</i> (e)aṭ	<i>ṭrēag</i> (e)aṭ	<i>frēog</i> (e)aṭ

Optative

Singular :					
1 hæbbe	{libbe (lifge)	sēcge	hycge	ṭrēage	frēoge
etc., like fremme, 409.					

Imperative

Singular:

2 **hafa****hōfa**{(saga)
{sæge{hoga
{hyge**ðrēa****frēo**

Plural:

habbað{libbað
{(lifgað)**sęcg(e)að****hycg(e)að****ðręag(e)að fręog(e)að***Infinitive***habban**{libban
{(lifgan)**sęcg(e)an****hycg(e)an****ðręag(e)an fręog(e)an***Participle***hæbbende**{libbende
{(lifgende)**sęcgende****hycgende****ðręagende fręogende**

PRETERIT

Indicative

Singular:

1 **hæfde****lifde****sægde****hogde****ðręade****fręode**etc., like *dēmdē*, 409.*Participle***gehæfd****gelifd****gesægd****gehogod****geðręad****gefręod**

NOTE 1. **habban**. a) **habban** coalesces with the negative *ne* to **nabban**, ind. pres. sing. 1 **næbbe**, 2 (**nafast**), **næfst**, 3 (**nafað**), **næfð**, plur. **nabbað**, opt. **næbbe**, pret. **næfde**, past part. **genæfd**.

b) The forms **hafas(t)**, **hafað**; **nafas(t)**, **nafað** are extremely rare in Pure WS. (in Cura Past. **hafas(t)**, **nafað** once each in both MSS., **hafað** once in MS. H), while in texts having dialectic coloring they may occur frequently. In the Anglian poetry they prevail exclusively, while in the south **hæfst**, **hæfð**, etc., are collateral forms; the Anglian poetry has also a 1 sing. **hafu**, -o (-a).

c) A few instances of **hæbbað**, **næbbað** occur in the ind. pres. plur. of Cura Past. MS. H, while *æ* is the rule in the WS. abbreviated **hæbbe wé**, **gé**, and in the negated **næbbe gé** (but once **nabbe gé** Cura Past. MS. H). In LWS. the *a* of the ind. is apt to penetrate into the opt. plur.: sing. **hæbbe**, plur. **habban**, following the ind. sing. **hæbbe**, plur. **habbað**.

d) The LWS. past part. is sporadically **-hæfed** (frequently in Bede MS. Ca).

e) Dialectal forms : Kent. has one ind. pres. sing. 2 **hefst** Kent. Gl., against **hafest** Kent. Hymn. — Merc. Ps. ind. pres. sing. 2 **hafast**, 3 **hafað**, plur. **habbað**, imp. plur. **habbað**, part. **nabbende**, pret. **hefde**, plur. **hefdun**, part. **hefd**; — R.¹ ind. pres. sing. 2 **hæfest** (**hæfep**), 3 **hæfep**, **næfep** (**hæfæp**, **hefæp**; **hæfð**, **næfð**), plur. **habbaþ**, **nabbaþ**, **habbe wé**, opt. **hæbbe**, imp. **hæfe**, plur. **habbaþ**, inf. **habbanne**, part. **hæbbende**, pret. **hæfde**, **næfde**. — North. R.² ind. pres. sing. 1 **hafo** (**hæfo**, **hæfe**), 2 **hæfes** (**hæfest**, **hæfestu**, **hæfeð**), 3 **hæfeð**, **-es** (**gehabbað**), plur. **habbað**, **-as**, **habbon wé**, opt. sing. plur. **hæbbe**, imp. sing. **hæfe**, plur. **habbað**, **-as**, inf. **habba**, inf. **habbanne**, part. **hæbbende**, **næbbende**; — L. ind. pres. sing. 1 **hafo** (**hafu**, **hæfo**, **hæfic**), **nafu**, 2 **hæfis**, **-es**, **-eð** (**hafis**), 3 **hæfeð**, **-es** (**hæfeð**, **-es**), **hæfis**, **-ið** (**habbað**) and **næfis**, **-eð**, plur. **habbað**, **-as** (**hæbbas**), **nabbað**, **-as**, **nabbo ué**, opt. sing. plur. **hæbbe**, imp. sing. **hæfe**, plur. **habbað**, **-as**, inf. **habba** (**hæbbe**), inf. **habbanne**, part. **hæbbende**, **næbbende**, pret. **hæfde**, **næfde**; — Rit. ind. pres. sing. 1 **hafo**, 2 **hæfeð**, 3 **hæfeð**, plur. **habbað**, **habba wé**, opt. sing. plur. **hæbbe**, **næbbe**, imp. plur. **habbað**, inf. **habba**, part. **hæbbende**, **næbbende**, pret. **hæfdon**, **næfde**. Leid. Rid. has one ind. pres. 1 sing. **hefæ**.

NOTE 2. a) In **libban** and **lifgan** (**lifian**, **lifgean**, etc.) there is a double formation of the present (415. 1 and 2). Of these, **libban** is properly the Pure WS. form, **lifgan** that of the other dialects, though Cura Past. MS. H has an exceptional **lifiendan** (Chron. seems to have only **lifgende**, and no form with **bb**), and occasional deviations are subsequently found in Pure WS. In the poetry, **libban** is restricted to the Southern English Metres (and to Gen. B, translated from Old Saxon).

b) In the ind. pres. 2 and 3 sing. EWS. has once **i** for **io** (**lifað** Cura Past. MS. C), while later it is generally **leofað**, but also **lifað**, **lyfað**, etc. The **io**, **eo** thrusts itself, as a dialectic influence, even into the older **j**-forms, as in inf. **leofian**, 3 plur. **leofiaþ** Blickl.

c) The LWS. pret. is generally **leofode** (beside **lyfode**, sporadically also **lifede** Bede MS. Ca).

d) Dialectal inflection : Kent. has in Kent. Ps. the part. **lif(g)ende**, **lifgende**, in charters opt. **lifige**, part. **lifgendes**, pret. **oferlifde**. — Merc. Ps. ind. pres. sing. 1 **lifgu**, 3 **leofað**, **lifað** (**leafað**), plur. **lifgað**, opt. **lifge**, inf. **lifgan**, part. **lifgende** (one **lifiende**), past part. **lifd**; — R.¹ ind. pres. sing. 3 **leofaþ**, plur. **lifgaþ**, part. **lifgende**, pret. **lifde**. — North. R.² ind. pres. sing. 1 **lifio**, 3 **lifioð**, plur. **lifgas**,

inf. **lifga**, part. **lifgende**; — L. ind. pres. sing. 3 **lifað**, -æð, -eð, **lifefð**, -es, plur. **lifas**, **liflifað**, opt. (h)**lifige**, part. **lif(g)ende** (**lifiglende**, **lifliglende**, etc.), pret. **lifde**; — Rit. ind. pres. sing. 2 **lifas** (-að), 3 **lifað**, **lifafð**, -eð, plur. **lifigað**, **lifafð**, **lifofað**, opt. sing. plur. **lifiga**, part. **lif(g)ende**, **lifiglende**.

NOTE 3. **sæg(e)an**. a) The EWS. is regularly pres. sing. **sægge**, **sægst**, **sægð**, plur. **sæg(e)að**, etc., pret. **sægde**, part. **gesægd** (for forms like **sæde**, **gesæd** see 214. 3), except that æ occasionally intrudes into the old **ja**-forms: inf. **sæg(e)an**, etc. In LWS. the verb abandons completely the distinction between **e** and **æ** in the pres., and thus goes over to the inflection of Conj. I: ind. pres. **sægge**, **sæg(e)st**, **sæg(e)ð**, plur. **sæg(e)að**, imp. **sæge**, plur. **sæg(e)að** (but pret. **sæde**, etc.). In less pure WS. texts, and especially in the poetry, still other blendings occur (like pres. **sægest**, **sægeð**, imp. **sæge**), as well as the **a**-forms **sagast**, **sagað**, imp. **saga**, which are entirely foreign to pure WS.

b) Dialectal inflection: Kent. has Kent. Gl. imp. **ne sægeðu**. — Merc. Ps. ind. pres. sing. 1 **sæggu**, -o (one -**sægga**), 2 **ásagas**, 3 **sægeð**, plur. **sæggað**, opt. **sæge**, plur. -en, imp. sing. **sæge**, plur. **sæggað**, inf. **sæggenne**, part. **sægende**, pret. **sægde**, past part. **sægd**; — R.¹ ind. pres. sing. 1 **sægge** (**sægga**, **sægge**), 2 **sægest**, 3 **sægeþ**, plur. **sæggaþ** (**sæggaþ**), opt. sing. plur. **sæge**, imp. sing. **sæg**, **sæge**, **sæcge**, plur. **sæggaþ**, pret. **sægde**, past part. **sægd**. — North. R.² ind. pres. sing. 1 **sægo** (-e), 2 **sæges**, 3 **sægeð** (**sæggað**), plur. **sæggað**, -as (**ásagas**), imp. **sæge**, inf. **sægga** (-o, **sæge**), inf. **sæcganne**, pret. **sægde**, part. **ásægd**; — L. ind. pres. sing. 1 **sægo** (**sæggo**), 2 **sæges** (-eð), 3 **sægeð**, -es (**sægga**, -es), plur. **sæggað** (**sægga**), opt. sing. **sæge**, imp. **sæg**, **sæge**, plur. **sægga**, pret. **sægde**, past part. **ásægd** (**ásæged**); — Rit. ind. pres. sing. 3 **sægeð**, plur. **sæggað**, opt. sing. plur. **sæge**, imp. **sægi**, -e, part. **sægende**, pret. **sægde**.

NOTE 4. a) **hyc(e)an** forms its whole pres., even in EWS., for the most part according to the paradigm of Conj. I: **hycge**, 3 sing. **hyg(e)ð** (but once **hogað** Cura Past. MS. H), imp. -**hige** Boeth. MS. C (-**hoga** MS. B); in the pret. **hogode** already appears, beside **hogde**, and later becomes usual; only -**hogod** occurs as the EWS. past part.

The **ja**-inflection is later exceptionally extended to the pret.: -**hygde** Blickl. Gl., -**hyg(e)de**, -**hig(e)de** Spelm. Ps. In pure LWS. the verb has more frequently gone over to Conj. II: inf. **hogian**, pret. **hogode**, part. -**hogod**, etc.

b) Dialectal inflection: Merc. Ps. ind. pres. 3 sing. **-hogað**, plur. **-hycgað**, pret. **-hogde** (the word is lacking in R.¹). — North. R.² ind. pres. 3 sing. **-hogað**, inf. **-hycganne**, part. **-hyccende**; — L. ind. pres. 3 sing. **forhogað**, (forogas, forhycgað), plur. **hogað**, **-as**, inf. **-hycga**, infl. **hycganne**, part. **hycgende**, pret. plur. **-hogdan**; — Rit. imp. plur. **hogað**, pret. sing. **hogade**, plur. **-hogdon**, past part. adj. plur. **bihogodo**.

NOTE 5. **ŭrēag(e)an** and **smēag(e)an**. Here we encounter sporadically in WS. abbreviated forms like the infl. inf. **ŭrēanne** Cura Past. MS. H, opt. plur. **smēan**, imp. plur. **smēap** Boeth. MS. B (ind. plur. **smēað** Metres), part. **smēande** Spelm. Ps.

Dialectal inflection. Kent. has Kent. Gl. ind. pres. sing. 2 **ŭrēast**, 3 **ŭrēað**, **smēað**, inf. **smēgan**, infl. **smŷagenne**, part. **ŭrēagende**, past part. **ŭrēad**. — Merc. Ps. ind. pres. sing. 1 **ŭrēgu** (**ŭrēu**), **smēgu**, 2 **ŭrēas(t)**, 3 **ŭrēað**, plur. **smēgað**, opt. sing. **ŭrēge**, **smēge**, imp. sing. **ŭrēa**, part. **ŭrēgende**, **smēgende**, pret. **ŭrēade**, past part. **smēad**; — R.¹ inf. **ŭreiga**. — North. R.² ind. pres. sing. 1 **ŭria**, 3 **-ŭrēað**, **smēoð**, plur. **smēogas**, imp. sing. **smēoge**, plur. **smēogas**, part. **smēa(n)dum**, pret. **ŭrēade** (**ŭrēode**), **smēode**, plur. **ŭrēatun** (**ŭrēodun**), **smēadun**; — L. ind. pres. sing. 1 **ŭrēa**, 3 **ŭrēað** (**-ŭrāð?**), **smēað**, plur. **smēað**, **-s**, imp. sing. **-ŭrēa**, **smēage**, plur. **smēas**, part. **smēande**, pret. sing. **ŭrēade**, **smēade**, plur. **ŭrēadon**, **smēadon** (**gesmēawdon**, **gesmēaudon**); — Rit. ind. pres. sing. 3 **-smēað**, plur. **smēað**, imp. plur. **-ŭrēað**, inf. **-smēaga**, infl. **smēanne**, part. **-ŭrēandum**, **smēande**.

NOTE 6. **frēog(e)an**, **frīog(e)an** (114.2; for **frēogean**, *love*, see 414, note 5. b) inflects in Merc.: Ps. ind. pres. sing. 1 **frīgu**, 2 **-frēas**, 3 **-frēað** (**-frīað**, **-frēoð**), imp. sing. **-frēa** (**-frīa**), plur. **-frīgað**, part. subst. **-frīgend**, pret. **-frēode**, **-frēade** (**frīode**, **-frēde**), past part. **-frēod**, **-frēad**, **-frīad**; — R.¹ opt. pres. **gefrēoge**. — North. R.² ind. pres. sing. 3 **-frīað**, **-frīoð**, imp. sing. **frīa**, past part. **-frīad**, plur. **-frīode**; — L. ind. pres. sing. 3 **frīað**, **-frīgeð**, **frēweð**, imp. **-frīg**, inf. **gefrīga** (opt.?), part. **frīende**, pret. **-frīgade**, past part. **-frīod**, **-frēod**, **-frēo^uad**; — Rit. ind. pres. sing. 1 **frīa**, opt. **-frīe**, imp. **frīa**, pret. **-frīade**, **frēode**, past part. **-frīad**, **-frīod**.

NOTE 7. **fēog(e)an**, **fīog(e)an** (114.2; Goth. **fījan**) inflects in Merc.: Ps. ind. pres. sing. 3 **fīað**, plur. **fīgað** (**fīað**), imp. plur. **fīað**, part. **fīgende**, pret. **fīode** (**fēode**, **fiede**, also once **fēdest**); — R.¹ ind. pres. sing. 3 **fīað**, plur. **fīgaþ**, opt. **fīgæ**. — North. R.² ind. pres. sing. 3 **fīað** (**gefēð?**), inf. **-fīoge**, pret. plur. **-fīadun**; — L. ind. pres. sing. 3 **-fīið**, **-fīað**, **-fīeð**, **-fīweð**, inf. **-fīage**, pret. plur. **-fīadon**; the word does not occur in Rit.

2) The other ancient ē-verbs of both classes have gone over, either wholly or with trifling exceptions, to the conjugation of the ō-verbs. Less common is transfer to the jo-class, or a twofold formation according to both classes.

NOTE 8. The criteria for original ē-inflection in the presence of Common OE. ō-inflection are especially:

- a) the occurrence of West Germ. gemination (cf. note 10);
- b) the occurrence of i-umlaut and similar vowel-changes (cf. note 11 ff.);
- c) the occurrence of monosyllabic *-ga-*, *-ge-*, in contradistinction to the *-ia-*, *-i(g)e-* of Conj. II (412, note 1; 415. 2; cf. note 15, below);
- d) the occurrence of Anglian present participles in *-lende*, etc., as against the *-ende*, *-ande* of Conj. II, etc. (412, notes 10 and 11; cf. note 16, below);
- e) the occurrence of preterits without middle vowel (cf. note 17, below);
- f) the occurrence of unaccustomed vowels in the ending (cf. note 18, below).

NOTE 9. Wholly to Conj. I belongs *fæstan*, *fast* (OHG. *fastēn*). Double formation occurs especially in the case of *fylg(e)an*, *fylgde*, and *folgian*, *folgade*, *follow* (OHG. *folgēn*), with which compare *tellan*, *tealde* (407. 1) and *tallan*, *talode*, (*re*)count.

fylg(e)an and *folgian* already have equal validity in EWS. (for example, in Cura Past.). Ps. L. have only forms of *fylgan*, *-a*, and the same is true of R.² Rit., except for once each imp. sing. *folga* R.², opt. plur. *folgiga* Rit. Forms of *folgian* are commoner in R.¹ (inf. *folgian*, opt. *folge*, imp. *folga*, pret. *folgade*, plur. *-adun*, *-edun*, beside ind. pres. 3 sing. *fylgeþ*, imp. *fylge*, *-æ*, part. *fylgende*, *-ænde*, pret. *fylgde*, *-ede*).

NOTE 10. West Germ. gemination (note 8. a) occurs also in isolated forms in the case of the poet. pres. part. *wæccende*, from *wacian*, *watch* (Ps. ind. pres. 1 sing. *wæcio*, plur. *wēcīaþ*, pret. *wæcade* (164, note 2); R.² North. have carried the jo-inflection almost completely through: R.¹ inf. *āwæccan* (?), imp. plur. *wæccas*, *wac(c)ep*, part. *wæccende*; R.² inf. *giwæcca*, *wæcce*, opt. sing. *wæcce*, imp. plur. *wæccas*, part. *wæc(c)ende*; L. inf. *wæc(c)a*, *gewæccæ*, infl. *wæccenne*, imp. plur. *gewaccas*, part. *wæc(c)ende*,

pret. *gewæhte*; Rit. opt. plur. *gīwæcge*, part. *væccendo*), and the participial noun *hettend*, *enemy*, from *hatian*, *hate*.

Properly *hnappian*, *nap*, also belongs here: EWS. has also once *hnæppiað* Cura Past.: LWS. has frequent *æ*-forms in Spelm. Ps. In Ps. the word inflects: ind. pres. sing. 1 *neaplu*, 2 *neppas*, 3 *hneap(p)að*, pret. *hneap(p)ade*, plur. *hneapedun*, -on.

NOTE 11. The following have *i*-umlaut (note 8. b) beside other criteria:

a) North. R.² *giðœlge*, ind. pres. 3 sing. *giðolas* (*giðœlgas*), imp. plur. *giðœlglas*, = Common OE. *ðolian*, *endure* (OHG. *dolēn*);

b) North. R.² inf. *lœs(i)ga*, beside *losiga*, *losige*, infl. *losanne*, ind. pres. 3 sing. *losað*, -as, -eð (*lœsigað*, *losigað*), plur. *lœsigað*, -as, opt. *lœs(i)ge*, plur. *lœsige*, imp. *losa*, part. *losed*, beside *losað*, = Common OE. *losian*, *be lost*;

c) Angl. (on)scynian, etc., beside Common OE. *onscunian*, *shun* (Ps. has chiefly forms of -scunian, but twice pret. *scynedun*; L. inf. *scyniga*, ind. pres. 3 sing. L. Rit. *onscynað*; no instances in R.¹ R.²);

d) North. *bȳa*, beside Common OE. *būan*, etc., 396, note 6, OHG. *būēn* (not found in Ps. R.¹); R.² inf. *bȳa*, ind. pres. 2 sing. *bȳes*, pret. *bȳede*, beside fem. *byend*, *colony*; L. inf. *byd*, infl. *byenna*, ind. pres. 3 sing. *bȳeð*, plur. *bȳeð*, -es, imp. plur. *bȳes*, pret. -*bȳde*, plur. *bȳ(e)don*, past part. *unbȳed*, -*id*, beside ind. pres. 2 sing. *būes*, and fem. *būend*; Rit. ind. pres. sing. 1 *bȳa*, 3 -*bȳað*, opt. -*bȳe*, imp. *gīlbȳa* (?), part. *bȳende*);

e) North. *qn(d)spyrn(ig)a*, beside *qn(d)spurn(ig)a*, etc., from Common OE. *spurnan*, 389, note 4: R.² ind. pres. 3 sing. *qnspyrnas*, opt. plur. *qndspyrnige*, past part. *qnspyrned*, plur. *qnspyrnade*, beside ind. pres. sing. *qn(d)spurneð*, plur. *qnsprunað*; L. ind. pres. 3 sing. *qndspyrneð*, -að, -as, opt. -*spyrne*, plur. -*spyrniga*, part. -*spyrnende*, past part. -*spyrned*, -*ad* (with the new formations imp. sing. *geondspyre*, part. *qndspyrendo*), beside ind. pres. 3 sing. *spurnað*, -as, part. -*spurnendra*, pret. plur. *geqndspurnedon*, past part. *geqndspurnað*, -*edo*;

f) North. *untrymiga*, *be sick*, beside Common OE. *untrumian*: Ps. past part. *geuntrumad*, infl. -*ade* and -*ede*, but R.² pret. *untrymede*, -*ide*, plur. *intrymedun*, beside sing. *untrumade*, L. inf. *untrymma*, part. *untrymlende*, pret. *untrymade*, plur. *untrymigdun* (413, note 7).

i-umlaut is found more sporadically in North. pret. R. *gitrȳgade* = L. *trūgude*, from *trūgian*, Common WS. *trūwian*, *believe* (OHG.

trūēn), and ind. pres. 3 sing. L. *drȳgeð* = R.² *drūgað*, *arutt*, beside R.² pret. *drūgade*, part. *gidrūgad*, L. pret. *-drūgde*, beside *-drūgade* (this also R.¹), part. *gedrūgad*; compare also the isolated part. *soergendi* (i.e., **sœrgendi* ?) Ep., from *sorgian*, *grieve* (OHG. *sorgēn*).

The North. R.² *clyniga*, *resound*, which perhaps belongs here, occurs only in the inf.

NOTE 12. The interchange of *eo* and *io* in EWS. *leornian* (rarely *ȝornian*), *learn* (OHG. *lirnēn*, *lernēn*) and North. R.² *liorniga*, L. *leorniga* (once *gelearnade*), less frequently *liorniga*, is to be explained by the changing vocalism of the ending.

NOTE 13. The occurrence of *æ*, instead of *a*, often points to earlier *ē*-inflection (compare the vocalism of *habban*, *sæggean*, etc., with that of verbs like *macian*, *laðian*, etc.). Here belong:

a) North. Rit. inf. *spæria*, pret. *gispærede*, beside Common OE. *sparian*, *spear* (OHG. *sparēn*; Ps. ind. pres. 3 sing. *spearað*, imp. *speara*, pret. *spearede*);

b) North. *plægiga*, *play*, etc., R.² pret. *plægede*, L. *plæg(e)de*, *plægade* (Ps ind. pres. plur. *plæglað*, part. *plægiendra*, beside imp. plur. *plagliað*, R.¹ pret. *pleagade*, beside plur. *plagadun*, belong to 162, note 2; see also 391, note 1);

c) North. *qndswæriga*, beside Common OE. *qndswarian*, *-sworlian*: in R.² generally inf. *-sworia*, etc., only twice *-swarade*; but L. inf. *qnsuærega*, ind. pres. 2 sing. *qndsuæraestu*, plur. *qndsuærigeð*, part. *qndsuærendum*, pret. *qn(d)suærede*, *geqndsuærde* (cf. note 17), beside ind. pres. plur. *qndsuariges*, opt. plur. *qndsuariga*, imp. plur. *qndsuareð*, part. *qndsuærænde*, *-ende*, pret. *qndswarede*, *-ade*, *-alde*, *-suarde*, *qndsucarede*, *-ade*, plur. *-adun*, *-udon*, and *qndsuorade*, *-ode* (R.¹ has also one plur. *qndswærigap*, beside many *a*-forms). — For *hnæppian* and *hnapplan* see note 9.

NOTE 14. a) Of verbs with inner *i* there belong here *bifian*, *tremble* (beside *bīfian* Riming Poem); *clifian*, *adhere*; *ginian*, *gape*; *hlinian*, *lean*; *tilian*, *strive after* (compare OHG. *bibēn*, *klebēn*, *ginēn*, *hlinēn*, *zllēn*). These have *u-* or *o/a*-umlaut in the forms with *u*, *o*, or *a* in the ending (105. 2; 107. 4; 160): for example, EWS. inf. *tilian*, ind. pres. sing. 1 *tillie*, 2 *tiolast* (*tielast* ?), 3 *tiolað* (*tielað* ?), plur. *tilliað*, opt. *tillie*, imp. sing. *tiola* (*tiela* ?), plur. *tilliað*, pret. *tiolode*; but WS. generalizes the *i* at an early period (*tilað* Cura Past. MS. H, *tilode* MS. C, beside forms with *io*). In LWS. *y* often occurs: *gynian*, *hlynian*, etc. (Cura Past. already has one opt. *hlynigen* in

both MSS.). In less pure WS. texts the domain of the *io*, *eo* is frequently extended: *beofian*, *cleofian*, *geonian*, *hleonian*, etc.

Dialectic inflection: Merc. R.¹ pres. part. *bifgende*; ind. pres. 3 sing. *ætclifað*; ind. pres. plur. *hleonigaþ*, part. *hlengendes*, pret. sing. *hlionede*, *hleonedede*, plur. *hlionadun*, *hleonudun*. — North. R.² pret. plur. *bl(f)gedon*; ind. pres. 3 sing. *-hlionað*, plur. *hlionigað*, imp. *hliona* (*hlioniga*), part. *hlingendum*, *hlioni(g)endum*, *hlionendra*, *-dum*; — L. pres. part. *bifi(g)ende*, pret. plur. *bifgedon*; ind. pres. 3 sing. *-hlinað*, plur. *hlingað*, imp. *hlinig* (*hlina*), part. *hlingende*, etc. (*hlingindi*, *hlingendum*, *hlingiendo*), *hlongende* (*hlongandra*), pret. *hlionade* (*hlinade*, *-hlonede*), plur. *-hlonodon*, part. *gehlionad*; — Rit. part. *biþgiende*.

b) Further belong here North. L. *giwiga*, *giwge*, *demand* (compare OHG. *gewēn*): ind. pres. sing. 2 *giues*, *-að*, *-as*, 3 *giueð*, *-æð*, *-að* (*-iað*, *-ias*), plur. *giulgas* (*giuað*), etc., imp. *giulg*, plur. *giuiað*, etc., part. *giwigende*, *giulendum*, *giuglende* (*giwende*, etc.), pret. *giude*, *giuede*, *-ade*, *-ude*, plur. *giuade*, *-giu(u)don*, opt. *giude*, *giuiade*; in R.² the verb runs inf. *glowigia*, etc., and regularly follows the *ō*-class (once *glowestu*, 412, note 5; compare OHG. *gewōn*).

c) It is more doubtful whether WS. *clipian*, *call*, originally belongs here. In EWS. it is conjugated just like *tilian* (see *a*), but has also a few forms with *eo* in Cura Past. like inf. *cleopian*; in LWS. *clipian*, *cypian* predominates, though *cleopian* is also found. In Ps. *cleopian* (with constant *eo*) in general follows the *ō*-class, but has in the pret. 5 *-ude*'s, 15 *-ede*'s, beside only 6 *-ade*'s; in the plur. only *-edun*, *-edon*; in R.¹ note the participle *clipigende*, beside *clippende*, and ind. pres. 3 sing. *cllopaþ*, *cleopaþ*, pret. *cllopade*, *cleopade*, etc. In North. it follows throughout the inflection of Class II: R.² *clloþiga*, L. *clloþia*.

d) With Goth. *witan*, pret. *witaida* is to be compared the poet. *bewitian*, *observe*, etc., and the frequent past part. *witod*, *weotod*, *decided* (and so the adv. *witodlice*, *surely*, *verily*, North. R.² *wutudlice* (once *-witud-*), L. *wutedlice*, etc.

NOTE 15. *a*) Monosyllabic *-ge-*, etc. (note 8. *c*) in undoubtedly old *ē*-verbs are to be found in the oldest texts: thus from *tilian*, *ginian*, *hlinian* (note 14), *onscunian* (note 11) we have Ep. *tilgendum*, Corp. *onhlingu*, *wiðerhlingendæ*, *geongendi*, *anscungendi*, as well as *dobgendi* (compare OHG. *tobēn*, *rage*), and so probably *seobgendi*, from *seofian*, *lament*. Cura Past. has, on the other hand, only a single sporadic *gellorngen* in MS. H (412, note 1); Ps. one opt. plur. *ðiwgen*, from *ðeowian*, *serve* (cf. note 17. *b*); R.¹

biſgende, hlengendes; North. R.² **giðeolge, læsga**, etc. (note 11), **bi(f)gedon, hlingendum**, L. **biſgedon, hlingende, giuglende**, Rit. **bibglende** (note 14), **givað**, poet. **hlingende** Guthl. For the corresponding forms of **lifgan** see note 2.

b) Here belongs also the verb **ſetian, fetch**, which in Pure WS. becomes **ſeccc(e)an**, by way of ***ſetjan** (196. 3), but retains its old form outside of Pure WS. Its conjugation is: inf. **ſetian, ſeccan**, ind. pres. sing. 1 **ſetige, ſeccc**, 2 **ſetast**, 3 **ſetað**, plur. **ſetiað, ſeccað**, opt. **ſetige, ſeccc**, imp. sing. **ſeta**, plur. **ſetiað, ſeccað**, pret. **ſette** (also **ſetode**, according to Class II), part. **ſett** and **ſetod** (Ep. **ſetod**, Corp. **feotod**; North. R.² L. **gī-, gefotad**, for ***feotad**, ind. pres. 3 plur. L. **fatas**, for ***featas**, 156. 2, 3).

NOTE 16. In the pres. part. the formation with **-i(g)-** (note 8. d) is often found in North., in contrast to the part. of the **ō-**verbs (412, note 11): R.² **wunlende** (compare OHG. **wonēn, dwell**), **hlion-i(g)endum, hlingendum** (beside **hlionendum**, etc.), L. **wuni(g)ende, wunglende, uunlande, biſi(g)ende, hli(o)ngende**, etc., **giwigende (giuglende, etc.)**, beside forms like **giwende, ðolende**, etc., Rit. **wunigende** (for **lifgende**, etc., see note 2).

In the inflected inf. an analogous difference between **ō-** and **ē-**verbs is hardly to be observed. R.² has **wuniganne** and **wunanne** (cf. **boðiganne**, 412, note 10), and L. a single **wunian**.

NOTE 17. There is an irregular distribution of preterits without a middle vowel (note 8. e), especially in a few verbs in **g** and **w**:

a) WS. **swigian, be silent** (compare OHG. **swigēn**), beside **swugian** (71; both forms side by side in EWS.; LWS. usually **swugian, sugian**, and **suwian**), generally follows Class II, and exhibits only sporadically forms which are discrepant, as, in particular, the part. **swigende**. In Anglian the word always occurs with **i** (whose length is established by metrical considerations); the pret. is in Ps. R.¹ **swigade**, but North. R.² L. **swigde**, beside **swigade** (inf. **suiga**? L.). Other shortened forms of this kind are North. L. **-drūgde** (note 11), **plægde** (note 13).

b) From **trūwian, trust** (cf. OHG. **trūēn**), there appears sporadically a pret. **trūwde** (so in Cura Past. MS. H), beside usual **trūwode**; from **ðeowian, serve** (cf. note 15), pret. **ðeowde**, Ps. **ðeawde**, plur. **ðeowdun**, beside **ðlowedun**; for North. L. **gīude**, etc., see note 14. b (similarly are formed L. **scēawde**, etc., 413, note 7).

Other short forms occur only sporadically, as L. pret. **geond-suarde, geonsuarde**, note 13.

NOTE 18. For peculiarities in the vocalism of the endings, which perhaps might also serve as criteria of older *ē*-inflection, see 413, notes 3 and 6; 416, notes 1 and 3.

NOTE 19. The conjugation of *hrēppan*, *touch*, which perhaps belongs to this class, is very irregular: inf. *hrēppan* (sporadically *hrēpan*, and LWS. *hrēplan*), ind. pres. sing. 1 *hrēppe*, 2 *hrēpest* and *hrēpast*, 3 *hrēpeð* and *hrēpað*, opt. *hrēppe*, imp. sing. *hrēpa*, pret. *hrēpede*, *hrēpode*, and *hreopode*, part. *hrēpod*.

IV. MINOR GROUPS

1. PRETERITIVE PRESENTS

417. The Germanic preteritive presents have sprung from originally strong verbs, whose preterits (perfects) have assumed a present meaning (like Lat. *memini*, *novi*, *coepi*, Gr. *oīda*), while the original presents have disappeared. Their forms consist of:

1) an original strong preterit with present signification (perfect present);

2) a newly formed dental preterit (351. 2) with preterit signification.

418. The inflection of the former is in general that of the strong preterits, retaining, however, various older forms, such as the ind. 2 sing. in *-t*, and the *i*-umlaut in the optative. The dental preterit conforms entirely to the inflection of the weak preterits.

419. In the formation of their perfect presents the preteritive presents range themselves under the ablaut-classes of the strong verbs. They accordingly fall into the following order:

420. *First Ablaut-Class.*

1) Ind. pres. 1 and 3 sing. *wāt*, *I know*, 2 sing. *wāst*, plur. *witon* (EWS. also *wiotun*, *wietun*), opt. *wite*, imp. sing. *wite*, plur. *witað*, inf. *witan* (EWS. also *wiotan*, *wietan*), pres. part. *witende*, pret. *wisse*, *wiste*, past part. *gewiten*, beside the old past part. *gewiss*, adj., *certain*. So also is inflected the compounded *gewitan*.

By fusion with the negative adverb *ne*, these forms become *nāt*, *nāst*, *nytun*, *nyte*, *nysse*, *nyste*.

NOTE 1. Ps. has *wāt* (*nāt*, once *wāet*), *wāst*, *weotun* (*neoton*), opt. *wite* (*nyte*), imp. *wite*, plur. *weotað*, part. *weotendum*, pret. *wiste* (*nysse*, *nyste*); — R.¹ *wāt*, plur. *witan*, *wutan* (*niton*, *nytan*), opt. *wite* (*nyte*), imp. *witað*, *wite gē*, part. *witende*, pret. *wiste*, past part. *witen*. — North. R.² *wāt* (*wātt*; once *wāet*; *nāt*, *nātt*), *wāstu* (*nāstu*), plur. *wuttun*, *wuton*, *wutað*, -as, once *wittas* (*nuttun*, *nut[t]on*), opt. *wito*, -e, imp. plur. *wutað*, -as, inf. *wuta*, pret. *wiste* (*nyste*); — L. *wāt* (*nāt*), *wāst* (*nāst*), plur. *wuton*, -að, -as, *witteð*, abbreviated *wuto*, *uut(t)o*, *uutu wé*, *gīe*, *wuti gē* (*nutton*, *nuuton*, abbreviated *nutto*, *nutu*, *nuutu*, *nuti*), opt. *witto*, -a, -e, (*nyta*, -e), imp. *wut(t)að*, -as, -eð, inf. *wutta*, infl. *wuttanne*, *uuttanne*, etc., part. *wittende*, *uitende*, pret. *wiste* (*nyste*); — Rit. *wāt*, *vāst*, *wuton* (*nuton*), *wutas gīe* (imp.?), opt. plur. *witto*, inf. *wutta*, part. *witende*, pres. *wiste* (*nyste*).

2) *āg* (*āh*, 214. 1), *I have*, 2 sing. *āhst*, plur. *āgon* (LWS. *āgað* Scint.), opt. *āge*, imp. *āge*, inf. *āgan*, pret. *āhte*, past part. *āgen* and *āgen*, adj., *own* (378); negated: *nāh*, *nāgon*, *nāhte*, etc.

NOTE 2. R.¹ has inf. *āgan*, pres. plur. *āgun*, pret. *āhte*, R.² *āh*, opt. *āge*, L. *āh*, 2 sing. *āht*, plur. *āgon*, -an, opt. *āga*, *hāge*, pret. *āhte*. In Ps. and Rit. the inflectional forms do not occur.

421. *Second Ablaut-Class.*

3) *dēag* (*dēah*, 214. 1), *I avail*, 2 sing. not found, plur. *dugon*, EWS. opt. *dyge*, usually *duge*, inf. *dugan*,

pres. part. *dugende* (EWS. *dugunde* Cod. Dipl.). Angl. has only the 3 sing. *dæg* L. (163).

422. Third Ablaut-Class.

4) *q̃n(n)*, *an(n)*, *I grant* (with the compounded *geq̃nn*, *I grant*, and *ofq̃nn*, *grudge*), plur. *unnon*, opt. *unne*, imp. *unne*, inf. *unnan*, pret. *ūðe*, past part. *geunnen*.

NOTE 1. The word is lacking in Ps. R.¹ R.². L. has *q̃nn*, opt. (inf.?) *gewunna*; Rit. ind. pres. 2 sing. *giunne* (*giw(u)ne*, *giw̃ne*), opt. *giunne*, -a, imp. *giq̃nn* and *giunne*, inf. *giwunna*, part. *unnende*, pret. *glūðe* (*gehūðe*).

5) *cq̃n(n)*, *can(n)*, *I know*, *can* (with the compounded *oncq̃nn*, *reproach with*), 2 sing. *cq̃nst*, *canst*, plur. *cunnon*, opt. *cunne*, inf. *cunnan*, pret. *cūðe*, past part. *oncunnen*, beside the old past part. *cūð*, *known*, used as an adjective.

NOTE 2. Ps. has pres. plur. *cunnon*, opt. *cunne*, pret. plur. *cūðun*; R.¹ *cq̃nn*, *const*, plur. *cunnon*, -an, and -að, -eþ, inf. *gecunnan*, pret. *cūþe*, past part. *gecūð*; North. R.² *cq̃n*, plur. *cunnon*, -an, *cunno gé*, pret. *cūðe*; L. *cq̃nn* (once *cann*), plur. *cunnon*, abbreviated *cunno*, -i, beside *gecunnas*, inf. *gecunna*, pret. *cūðe*; Rit. has no inflectional forms.

6) *þearf*, *I need* (with the compounded *beþearf*), 2 sing. *þearft*, plur. *þurfon*, opt. EWS. *þyrfe*, usually *þurfe*, inf. *þurfan*, pret. *þorfte*, beside the pres. part. *þearfende*, adj., *needy* (sporadically *þyrfendra*, *egen-tum* Gl.).

NOTE 3. Ps. has 2 sing. *biþearft*, R.¹ *þearf*, plur. *þurfun*, *þurfe wé*, part. *þurfende*, *þorfende*; North. R.² 3 sing. *biþorfeð* (also pl.?), part. *þorfende*, L. 3 sing. *þorfað*, plur. *wé þurfu* and (be) *þorfeð*, part. *þorfende* (also *þorfondo*, etc., once *þærfen*), Rit. part. *þorfende*.

7) **dear(r)**, *I dare*, 2 sing. **dearst**, plur. **durron**, opt. EWS. **dyrre**, usually **durre**, pret. **dorste** (inf. not found).

NOTE 4. The word is lacking in Ps. Rit. R.¹ has pret. **durste** and **dyste** (read **dyrste**); North. Ruthwell Cross pret. **dorstæ**, R.² pret. (g) **darste**, plur. **darstun**, L. **darr**, pret. **gi-**, **gedarste**, plur. **darston**.

423. *Fourth Ablaut-Class.*

8) **sceal**, *I ought*, LWS. often **sceall** (scyl Scint.), 2 sing. **scealt**, plur. **sculon** and **sceolon** (LWS. also **scylon** Scint.), opt. EWS. **scyle** and **sciele**, **scile**, LWS. **scule**, **sceole**, inf. **sculan**, **sceolan**, pret. **sceolde** (more rarely **scolde**; once plur. **sculdon** in Cura Past.).

NOTE 1. The word is lacking in Ps. R.¹ has **sceal**, **scal**, 2 sing. **scealt**, **scalt**, plur. **sculon**, **scule gé**, opt. **scyle**, pret. **sculde** (once **scalde**), opt. **scylde**; North. Cædmon's Hymn plur. **scylun**, R.² **sceal**, plur. **sciolun**, opt. **scile**, pret. plur. **scealdun**, L. **sceal** (once **sceal**), **scealt**, plur. **sciolun**, **-un**, **scilon** (once **gé sciolo**), opt. **scile**, **-o**, pret. **scealde**, Rit. (in rubrics) **scal**, beside **sceall**.

9) **møn**, **man** (likewise the compounded **gemøn**, **onmøn**), *I intend*, 2 sing. **mønst**, **manst**, plur. **munon**, opt. LWS. **myne**, usually **mune**, imp. **ge-**, **onmun**, and **gemyne**, **gemune**, inf. **munan**, pres. part. **munende**, pret. **munde**, past part. **gemunen**.

NOTE 2. LWS. has a few new formations after the model of the regular strong presents, like ind. pres. sing. 1 **gemune**, 2 **gemunst**, 3 **gemanð**, plur. **gemunað**, imp. sing. **gemune**, plur. **-að**.

In Anglian this confusion extends still further. Ps. has ind. pres. sing. 1 **gemunu**, 2 **gemynes** (opt.?), opt. plur. **gemynen**, imp. sing. **gemyne**, plur. **gemunað**, inf. **gemunan**, pret. **gemundes**; R.¹ ind. pres. 2 sing. **gemynest**, pret. **gemunde**; North. R.² imp. sing. **gimyne**, plur. **-as**, L. ind. pres. 3 sing. **gemynes**, plur. **gemynas**, imp. sing. **gemyne** and **gemona** (or inf.?), plur. **gemynas** (corrected from **gemonas**) and (opt.) **gemyná gīe**, pret. **gemyste** (for ***gemynste**, 186. 1), Rit. imp. sing. **gemyne**.

424. *Fifth Ablaut-Class.*

10) **mæg**, *I can*, 2 sing. **meaht**, LWS. **mīht**, plur. **magon**, opt. **mæge**, plur. **-en** (LWS. also **mage**, very late **muge**), inf. LWS. sporadic **magan**, pres. part. LWS. **magende**, pret. **meahte** (**mehte**, 108. 2), LWS. **mīhte**, with *i*-umlaut, which no doubt originally proceeded from the opt. pret.

NOTE. Ps. has in the pres. **mæg**, plur. **magun**, **mægon**, opt. **mege**; R.¹ **mæg**, **mæht**, plur. **magun**, **-on**, opt. **mæge**; North. R.² 1 and 3 sing. **mæg(e)**, plur. **magun**, **-on**, **-an** (once **mægun**), opt. **mæge**; L. sing. 1 and 3 **mæg** and **mæge** (**-æ**, **-i**, **-o**), 2 **mæht**, plur. **magon**, **mægon** (**mago**, **-a**), opt. **mæge**, plur. **-o**; Rit. sing. **mæg**, plur. **mægon**, **-o**, **magon**, opt. **mægi** (**-e**). The Anglian pret. is always **mæhte** Ps. R.¹ R.² L. Rit.

11) **be-**, **ge-neah**, *it suffices* (used only in the 3d person), plur. **-nugon**, opt. **-nuge**, pret. **benohte** (inf. not found; the word does not occur at all in Anglian).

425. *Sixth Ablaut-Class.*

12) **mōt**, *I may*, 2 sing. **mōst**, plur. **mōton**, opt. **mōte**, pret. **mōste** (inf. not found).

NOTE. The only Anglian instances are R.¹ **mōt**, pret. plur. **mōstun**, L. **mōt**, plur. **mōto wē**, pret. plur. **mōston**.

2. VERBS IN **-mi**

426. The ind. pres. 1 sing. of the Indo-European verb ended either in **-ō** or in **-mi** (compare the Gr. verbs in **-ω** and **-μι**, like **φέρω** and **τίθημι**, etc.). To the verbs in **-ō** belong all the regular Germanic verbs; of the verbs in **-mi** only scanty remains have been preserved; they are distinguished by the fact that the ind. 1 sing. ends in **-m**.

Here belong the following OE. verbs:

1. THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB

427. The substantive verb is composed of forms from the four roots, **es**; **er**, **or** (ind. and opt. pres.); **bheu** (ind. and opt. pres. with future signification, inf. and imp.); and **wes** (inf., pres. part., and pret.). The inflection is as follows:

1) roots **es** and **or**:

PRESENT

Indicative

	EWS.	Ps.	NORTH.
Sing. 1.	eom	eam	am
2.	eart	earð	arð
3.	is	is	is
Plur. {	—	earun	aron, -un
	sint	sind	sint
	sindon, -un	sindun, -on	sindon, -un

Optative

Sing.	sīe, sī	sīe	sīe, sē
Plur.	sīen, sīn	sīen	sīe, sē

Prothesis of the negative adverb **ne** gives **neam** (**nam**), **narð**, **naron** (note 4), and Common OE. **nis**.

NOTE 1. EWS. has, beside **eom**, sporadic **eam** Or., in the plur. several instances of **sient**, **siendon** Cura Past. MS. H, but only one **siendon** in MS. C; in the opt. the forms **sīe**, **sīen** everywhere predominate, and these, according to metrical evidence, are to be regarded as disyllabic in the poet. texts (and therefore probably in the earlier language).

NOTE 2. The LWS. ind. 3 sing. is often **ys** (**nys**), the plur. generally **sind** (**synd**), **sint** (**synt**), more rarely **sindon** (**syndon**; poet. **seondon** is Kentish; cf. note 3), the opt. generally **sȳ**, plur. **sȳn** (beside **sī**, **sīg**, etc.); in less pure WS. texts also **sīo**, **sēo**, etc.

NOTE 3. In Kentish the 2 sing. *eart* is found in Kent. Hymn; the plur. is: Kent. Gl. *sint* (*siont*, also *sin*, *sion*), Kent. Charters frequently *si(o)ndon*, *-an*, *seondan*, beside *sint*; the opt.: Kent. Gl. *sio* (more rarely *sī*), Kent. Hymn *sio*; Kent. Charters *sio*, *sēo*, beside *sīe*, *sē*, plur. *sion*, beside *sien*. Later texts under Kentish influence have also in the ind. plur. *send* for *synd* (154).

NOTE 4. Beside the forms adduced in the paradigm, Ps. has ind. sing. 1 *neam*, 3 *nis*, and the opt. 1 sing. one each of *sīem*, *sion*, beside *sīe*. The commonest form of the ind. plur. is *sind*, and the least common *earun*.

In R.¹ the inflection is: ind. sing. 1 *eam* (once each *nam*, *næm*), 2 *eart* (once each *earð*, *arþu*), 3 *is* (*his*; *nis*), plur. *sindun*, *-on* (rarely *syndun*, *-on*, *sendun*, *-on*) and more rarely *sint*, once *arun*, opt. sing. 1 *sēo*, 2, 3 *sīe*, *sīæ* (*sīa*, *sē*, *sȳ*, *sȳæ*), plur. *sīe* (*sīæ*, *sȳ*), and *sien*, *sien*.

North. has: R.² ind. sing. 2 *is* (rare, 356, note 2), 3 negative *nis*; L. 2 sing. sporadic *arst* and *his*, beside *arð*, in the plur. abbreviations like *aru wé*, *aro gé*, etc., rarely also *sind*, opt. also *sīe*, *see*, *sē*; and the negated *nam*, *narð*, *nis*, *naron*, *naro gīe*. Rit. has *am*, *arð*, *is*, plur. *aron* (*aro gīe*), *sint*, *sind*, *sindon*, opt. *sīe*, *sē*, negated *nis*, *naro gīe*.

The forms *eam*, *earð*, *earun* occur now and then in the poetry.

2) root *bheu*:

PRESENT					
Indicative			Optative		
	EWS.	Ps.	NORTH.	EWS.	NORTH.
Sing. 1.	(<i>bīo</i> , <i>bēo</i>)	<i>bīom</i>	<i>bīom</i>	} <i>bīo</i> , } <i>bēo</i>	} <i>bīa</i> , } <i>bīe</i>
2.	<i>bīst</i>	<i>bīs(t)</i>	<i>bīst</i>		
3.	<i>bīð</i>	<i>bīð</i>	<i>bīð</i>		
Plur.	<i>bīoð</i> , <i>bēoð</i>	<i>bīoð</i>	{ <i>bī(o)ðun</i> , <i>-on</i> } <i>bīað</i>	{ <i>bīon</i> , } <i>bēon</i>	—

Infinitive *Participle* *Imperative*
bīon, *bēon* | (*bīonde*, *bēonde*) | Sing. *bīo*, *bēo*. Plur. *bīoð*, *bēoð*

NOTE 5. The parenthesized forms of the ind. 1 sing. and pres. part. are not found in EWS., but may be assumed with confidence according to the LWS. *bēo*, *bēonde*; on the interchange of *io* and *eo* see 114. 2.

NOTE 6. In the ind. 2 and 3 sing. OE. *bist*, *bið* are to be written with short *i* (notwithstanding the etymologically correspondent Lat. *fis*, *fit*). This is proved not only by the *byst*, *byð* which are very common in LWS., but especially by the North. plur. *bioðun*, -on, whose *u*-umlaut can only be referred to the parallel *biðun*, -on, which again rests on the sing. *bið*.

NOTE 7. Ps. has a few instances of 2 sing. *bis*, without *t*, beside regular *bist*.

NOTE 8. Kent. shows no material variation from the WS. paradigm (Cod. Dipl. inf. *bīan*, beside *bīon*, 159, note 3). Ps. has, beside many instances of *biom*, two of *bēom*, one of *bēam*, and one of *bīo*, in the plur. a few cases of *bēað*, in the imp. sing. one of *bīa*, beside several of *bioð*, *bīo* (*bið* as plur. may be regarded as a clerical error). There are no examples of opt. and part. The conjugation in R.¹ is: ind. pres. sing. *bēom*, *bist*, *bið*, -þ (and twice *bēoþ*, following the plur.), plur. *bēoþ*, -ð, more rarely *bīoþ*, -ð, and once *biðon*, frequently umlauted *beoþan*, opt. sing. *bēo*, plur. *bēon*, imp. sing. *bēo*, plur. *bēoþ* (*bīoþ*), inf. *bēon*.

North. has: R.², beside *bið*, once *bīað* (on *is*, beside *bist*, see note 4); in the plur. *bioðun*, -on (once *bioðo*) predominates, *bīað* is rare (opt., imp., inf. not found); L., beside *bēom*, *bīom*, once *bīum*, beside *bið*, once *bīeð*, in the plur., beside frequent *biðon* (twice *biðo*), once *bioðon*, twice *bīað*; the opt. forms *bīa*, *bīe* and inf. *bīan* occur only once each (imp. lacking); Rit. *bīom*, *bist*, *bið*, plur. *biðon*. The plur. *bīað* occurs also in the Leiden Riddle (and Corp.).

In the poetry the forms *bēoð*, *bēon* occur frequently in cases where the metre requires disyllabic forms (Beitr. 10. 477).

3) root *wes*:

PRESENT

Infinitive: *wesan* *Participle*: *wesende*
Imperative: sing. *wes*, plur. *wesað*

PRETERIT

<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Optative</i>
Sing. 1. <i>wæs</i>	<i>wære</i>
2. <i>wære</i>	

etc., regularly like a strong verb (391).

Fusion with the negative results in pret. sing. *næs*,
2 *nære*, plur. *næron*, opt. *nære*.

NOTE 9. For *wæs*, *næs* there also occur the enclitic by-forms *was*, *nas* (49, note 1; EWS. frequently in Chron.).

NOTE 10. The discrepancies of the non-WS. dialects result from the relevant phonetic laws: thus, for example, Corp. part. *ætweos-endne*, beside inf. *wesan* (Ps. has, of the present, only the ind. sing.), Ps. pret. *wes*, *wēre*, plur. *wērun*, etc., R.¹ inf. *wesa*, imp. plur. *wesaþ*, pret. *wæs*, *wēre*, and *wære*, plur. *wērun*, *wærun*, etc.

North. R.² inf. *wosa*, imp. sing. *wes*, plur. *wosaþ*, pret. *wæs* (once *was*), *wēre*, plur. *wērun*, -on and *wærun*, etc., opt. *wære*, negated *næs*, *nëron*, opt. *nære*; L. inf. *wosa* (*wossa*), etc., imp. sing. *wæs* (*uæs*; once *wes*), plur. *wosaþ*, -as, pret. *wæs* (*wæss*), etc., *wēre*, plur. *wëron*, *wöron*, etc. (more rarely *wæron*, etc., also once *ymbwöson*), opt. *wære*, *wöere* (rarely *uære*, etc.), negated pret. *næs(s)*, plur. *nëron*, *nærun*, opt. *nære*, *nære*, etc.

2. THE VERB *will*

428. The present tense of the verb *will* was originally confined in Germanic to an optative used indicatively; to these have been added in OE. a new optative and an imperative (the latter occurring only as a negative). The preterit is of the weak conjugation. The WS. inflection is as follows:

PRESENT		
<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Optative</i>	<i>Infinitive</i>
Sing. 1. <i>wille</i>	} <i>wille (wile)</i>	<i>willan</i>
2. <i>wilt</i>		
3. <i>wile (wille)</i>		<i>Participle</i>
Plur. <i>willað</i>	<i>willen</i>	<i>willende</i>

PRETERIT

wolde

(like *nærede*, etc., 409)

NOTE 1. EWS. *wille* is rather rare as ind. 3 sing., and *wile* uncommon as opt. In LWS. all forms of the present often have the vowel *y*: *wylle*, *wylt*, etc.

NOTE 2. The verb *willan* nearly always coalesces with a preceding *ne*, the vocalism of the individual forms exhibiting some changes in consequence. The EWS. forms of Cura Past. are: ind. pres. sing. 1 *nylle* (in MS. H also *nelle*, Or. *nele*), 3 *nyle* (MS. H also *nylle*, *nele*, *nile*), plur. *nyllað* (MS. H and Or. also *nellað*), opt. *nylle*, *nyle* (MS. C also once *nele*), plur. *nyllen*, pret. *noide*; in LWS. the *e*-forms prevail: *nelle*, etc.

NOTE 3. Kent. instances are: Kent. Gl. opt. sing. *wille*, Kent. Ps. ind. 1 sing. *wille*, pret. *wolde*, Cod. Dipl. ind. sing. 1 *wille* and *willa*, 3 *wile*, *wille*, opt. *wille*, plur. *willen*, pret. (Cod. Aur.) *noðan* (read *-dan*).

NOTE 4. Greater variation is exhibited by Anglian:

a) Merc. Ps. ind. pres. 3 sing. *wile*, plur. *willað*, part. *wellende*, pret. *walde*; negated: imp. sing. *nyl*, plur. *nyllað*, pret. *nalde*; R.¹ ind. pres. sing. 1 *wille* (once *ne wylle*), 2 *wilt(u)*, 3 *wile* (*wille*), plur. *willað*, opt. *wille* (*wile*), pret. *wolde*, *walde*; negated: ind. pres. sing. 1 *nyllic* (beside *ne wylle*), 3 *nyle* (opt.?), plur. *nylleþ*, imp. plur. *ne wellað*, *nellaþ*, pret. *noide*, plur. *noldan*, *naldun*;

b) North. R.² ind. sing. 1 *wyllo*, *willo*, 2 *wylt*, *wilt*, 3 *wyl*, *wil*, *will*, plur. *wallað*, *-as*, *wallon wé*, opt. sing. plur. *welle*, imp. plur. *wallað*, *-as*, pret. *walde*; negated: ind. plur. *nallan wé*, imp. sing. *nelle* (properly opt.), plur. *nallað*, *-as*, *nallon gé*; L. ind. sing. 1 *willo* (*wille*, *willic*; *wællō*, *-e*), 2 *wilt* (*willt*), 3 *wil* (*will*), plur. *wallað*, *-as*, *walla wé*, *walli gé* (once 3 plur. *uallon*; one *gīe wælle*, *vultis*, is rather opt.), opt. *wælle*, *-a*, *-e*, *welle*, *-æ*, (imp. plur. *ne wallað*, *ne wællað gīe*), pret. *walde* (one ind. 3 sing. *walda*); negated: ind. sing. 1 *nuillc*, *nwillc*, 2 *nuilt*, plur. *nallað*, *-as*, *-es*, *nallo wé*; imp. sing. *nælle*, *nelle*, plur. *nallað*, *-as* (*-eð*; *nalle gīe*) and *nællað*, *-as* (*-æs*, *-eð*, *-es*; *nælle gīe*), *nellað*, *-as*, pret. *nalde*; Rit. ind. 3 sing. *vil*, plur. *vallað*, opt. *vælle*, pret. *walde*; negated: ind. 2 sing. *nylt*, imp. sing. *nælle*, plur. *nællað*, pret. plur. *naldon*.

3. THE VERB *do*429. The verb *dōn*, *do*, is conjugated as follows:

PRESENT

Indicative

	WS.	Ps.	R. ²
Sing. 1.	<i>dō</i>	<i>dōm</i>	<i>dōm</i>
2.	<i>dēst</i>	<i>dōest, -s</i>	<i>dōes</i>
3.	<i>dēð</i>	<i>dōēð</i>	<i>dōēð, -s</i>
Plur.	<i>dōð</i>	<i>dōð</i>	<i>dōað, -as</i>

Optative

Sing. <i>dō</i>	{ <i>doe</i> (<i>dōa</i> , <i>dō</i>)	<i>doe</i>
Plur. <i>dōn</i>	<i>doen</i>	<i>doe</i>

Imperative

Sing. 2.	<i>dō</i>	<i>dōa</i> , <i>dō</i>	<i>dōa</i> , <i>dō</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>dōn</i>	<i>dōn</i>	—
2.	<i>dōð</i>	<i>dōð</i>	<i>dōað</i>

Infinitive

	<i>dōn</i>	<i>dōn</i> , <i>dōan</i>	<i>dōa</i>
infl.	<i>dōnne</i>	<i>dōnne</i>	<i>dōanne</i>

Participle

<i>dōnde</i>	<i>dōnde</i>	<i>doende</i>
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PRETERIT

Indicative

Sing. 1.	<i>dyde</i>	<i>dyde</i>	<i>dyde</i>
2.	<i>dydes(t)</i>	<i>dydes, -est</i>	<i>dydes(tu)</i>
3.	<i>dyde</i>	<i>dyde</i>	<i>dyde</i>
Plur.	<i>dydon</i>	<i>dydun</i>	{ <i>dydun, -on</i> <i>dēdun</i>

	<i>Optative</i>	
Sing. dyde	dyde	dyde
Plur. dyden	dyden	{ dydon ? dēdun ?
	<i>Participle</i>	
	-dōn	-dōen

NOTE 1. WS. deviations from the paradigm are extremely rare. EWS. has in Cura Past. MS. C one opt. **doe**, which probably must be interpreted as **dōe**, in MS. H one part. **weldoendum** (**-dōendum**?). The ind. plur. **dēdon**, opt. **dēde**, and the past part. **ge-**, **fordēn**, which occur in the poetry, are unknown to WS. prose (**dede**, plur. **dedon** in Cura Past. MS. C II are Kenticisms for **dyde**, etc., 154).

NOTE 2. It is sometimes doubtful whether **oe** should be written **œ** or **ōe**, since the MSS. do not recognize the ligature. When forms with **ē** occur also, **œ** is probable, but when the parallelism is with **ōa**, **ōæ**, it is in general better to interpret as **ōe** (cf. 430, note 1).

NOTE 3. Kentish agrees in general with WS.: Kent. Gl. 3 sing. **dēō**, **dēt**, imp. **dō**, opt. pret. **dēde** (cf. note 1), part. (on)**dōn**, Kent. Ps. 3 sing. **gedēō**, imp. **gedoo**, Kent. Hymn imp. **gedō**; Kent. charters inf. **dōn** and **gedōan**, opt. sing. **gedoe**, plur. **gedoen** (once **gé gedēo**, 27, note ?), once **gedōn**.

NOTE 4. The 2 sing. **dēs**, without **t**, occurs only once in Ps., while **dydes** is more frequent than **dydest** (**dōō** as 3 sing. is probably only a clerical error); **ic dō** and **dōa** as opt. sing. occur only once each; the prevalent **doe**, as an Anglian form, is no doubt to be understood as **dōe**; inf. **dōan** is found but once.

The inflection in R.¹ is: ind. sing. 1 **dōm** (twice **dō**), 2 **dōest**, 3 **dōep**, plur. **dōap** (once **dōep**) and **dōp**, **-ō**, opt. sing. **dō** (once **dōa**), plur. **dōan**, **dōa**, imp. sing. **dō**, plur. **dōap**, **-ep**, **dōō**, inf. **dōan**, **dōa**, infl. **dōanne**, part. **dōnde**, **doende** (**dōende** ?), pret. **dyde**, 2 **dydest**, plur. **dydun**, **-on**, past part. **-dōan**, once **gedoen** (**gedōen** ?).

North. has frequently in R.² **doe** as translation of a Lat. ind. 1 sing., beside the forms given in the paradigm (but very likely this should be regarded as opt.); in the 3 sing. a few instances of **dōaō**, in the plur. a few of **dōeō**, **-es**, in the imp. plur. one **undōaō**. In the imp. sing. **dō**, and in the pret. plur. **dēdun**, is the rarer form.

The inflection in L. is: ind. sing. 1 **dōam**, less frequently **doom**, **dōm** (also **dō**, **dōa**, **dōe** or **dōe**, some of which are perhaps optatives),

2 *dōas*, -*as* (*dōaþ*), beside *dōes*, *dōest*, 3 *dōēþ*, -*s*, beside *dōaþ*, -*as*, -*æþ*, plur. *dōaþ*, -*as*, -*eþ*, -*es*, opt. *dōe* (*dōe* ?), beside *dōa* (once *doā*, i.e., *dōam*), imp. *dō*, *doo*, *dōa*, plur. *dōaþ*, -*as*, -*æþ*, -*eþ*, -*es*, inf. *dōa*, *dōæ*, *dōe*, infl. *dōan(n)e*, *dōenne*, part. *dōende* (*dōende* ?), pret. *dyde*, etc., plur. rarely *dēdon*, opt. *dyde*, plur. rarely *dēdon*, part. -*dōen*.

Rit. ind. sing. 1 *dōm*, 2 *dōest* (once *dōst*), 3 *dōēþ*, plur. *dōaþ*, -*as*, -*æþ*, -*eþ*, opt. *dōe* (*dōe* ?), imp. sing. *dō*, plur. *dōaþ*, -*eþ*, inf. *dōa*, part. *dōende* (*dōende* ?), pret. *dyde*, plur. *dydon*, part. -*dōen*.

NOTE 5. In the poetry disyllabic forms should frequently be substituted for the monosyllabic ones which are handed down (Beitr. 10. 477).

4. THE VERB *go*

430. The verb *gān*, *go* (beside *gongan*, 396, note 2), is thus conjugated in WS.:

PRESENT		
<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Optative</i>	<i>Imperative</i>
Sing. 1. <i>gā</i>	} <i>gā</i>	Sing. 2. <i>gā</i>
2. <i>gæst</i>		Plur. <i>gāþ</i>
3. <i>gæþ</i>		
Plur. <i>gāþ</i>	<i>gān</i>	<i>Infinitive</i> <i>gān</i> , infl. <i>gānne</i>
PRETERIT		
<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Optative</i>	<i>Participle</i>
Sing. 1, 3. <i>ēode</i> (like <i>neþede</i> , etc., 409)	<i>ēode</i>	<i>gegān</i>

NOTE 1. For *æ* the older MSS. often have *ae*, which might in itself be interpreted as *æe* (429, note 2); below it is given as *æ* only where the MSS. themselves employ the ligature *æ*, side by side with *ae*.

NOTE 2. There are no Kentish deviations to speak of except the pret. *īode*, beside *ēode* (150, note 3).

NOTE 3. Ps. agrees in general with WS., but in the ind. 1 sing. has once *gān*, beside *gā*; the opt. occurs only once as *gae*, that is, probably, *gæ*; the inf. is lacking; the pres. part. is *gānde*.

R.¹ has ind. sing. 1 *gā*, 2 *gæs þu*, *gæst*, 3 *gæþ*, -ð (once *gāð*), plur. *gæþ* (twice *gāþ*), opt. sing. *gā*, plur. *gæn* (once *gān*), imp. sing. *gā* (once *gae*, i.e., *gæ*), plur. *gæþ*, -ð, more rarely *gāþ*, -ð, inf. *gā*, *gæ*, pret. *ēode* (thrice *ēade*); past part. is lacking (only -*gongen*).

NOTE 4. The North. inflection is: R.² ind. sing. 1 *gæ* (once *gaa*), 2 *gæst(u)*, 3 *gæð*, -s, and *gā(a)ð*, -s, plur. *gāð*, -s, opt. *gaa*, *gæ*, imp. sing. *gaa*, plur. *gā(a)ð*, -s, inf. *gāa*, pret. *ēode*, more rarely *ēade*, part. *foreglēad*; — L. ind. sing. 1 *gæ*, *gae*, *gāæ*, 2 *gæst* (*gāð*), *gāæs*, *gacs*, 3 *gaað*, *gæð*, *gaeð*, -s (*gæeð*), plur. *gaað*, *gæð*, *gaeð*, -s, opt. *gæ*, *gae*, imp. sing. *gā(a)*, *gāæ*, *gae*, plur. *ga(a)ð*, *gaeð*, -s, inf. *gaa*, *gæ*, *gae*, pret. *ēade*, more rarely *ēode*, part. *geēad*, etc.; — Rit. ind. sing. 1 *gæ*, 2 *gæst*, 3 *gæð*, plur. *gā(a)ð*, -s (once *geæð*), opt. *gæ* (*gae*), imp. plur. *gā(a)ð*, inf. *gaa*, pret. *ēade*.

SOME ABBREVIATIONS

- Ælfr. Gramm., Hom., etc. = Ælfric's Grammar, Homilies, etc.
(2, note 5).
- AfdA. = Anzeiger für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Litteratur.
- Angl. = Anglian.
- anv. = anomalous verb.
- Archiv = Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen (Herrig's Archiv).
- Beitr. = Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Paul und Braune's Beiträge).
- Ben. = The OE. Prose Versions of the Benedictine Rule, ed. A. Schröer, I, II. Kassel, 1885-1888.
- Benet = The Rule of St. Benet, ed. H. Logeman. London, 1888.
- Beow. = Beowulf.
- Blickl. = Blickling Homilies.
- Boeth. = Boethius.
- Chart. = Charters (2, note 1).
- Chron. = Chronicle (2, note 5).
- Cod. Dipl. = Codex Diplomaticus, ed. Kemble (for charters; 2, note 1).
- Corp. = Corpus Glosses (2, note 4).
- Cura Past., CP. = Cura Pastoralis (2, note 5).
- Ep. = Epinal Glosses (2, note 4).
- Ep. Al. = Epistola Alexandri (Anglia 4. 139 ff.).
- Erf. = Erfurter Glosses (2, note 4).
- EWS. = Early West Saxon.
- Gen. B. = Lines 235-851 (translated from Old Saxon) of the poetical Genesis.
- Germ. = Germanic.
- Gl. = Glosses.
- Goth. = Gothic.
- Haupt's Zs. = ZfdA.
- Hpt. Gl. = Glosses on Aldhelm, ZfdA. 9. 401 ff.

Indo-Eur. = Indo-European.

Kent. = Kentish.

Kent. Gl., Kent. Hymn, Kent. Ps., Kent. Chart. = Kent. Glosses, Hymn, Psalm, Charters (2, note 4).

L., Lind. = Lindisfarne Gospels (2, note 2).

later Mart. = later Martyrology (in Cockayne's Shrine, London, 1864 ff., pp. 44 ff.).

Leid. Rid. = Leiden Riddle.

LWS. = Late West Saxon.

Mart. = older Martyrology (for example, in Sweet's Oldest English Texts, 177-178).

ME. = Middle English.

Merc. = Mercian.

Metр. = Metres (2, note 4).

MHG. = Middle High German.

MLN. = Modern Language Notes.

North. = Northumbrian.

OE. = Old English.

OET. = Oldest English Texts.

OHG. = Old High German.

ON. = Old Norse.

Or. = Orosius (2, note 5).

OS. = Old Saxon.

Prim. = Primitive.

Ps. = Psalter (in MS. Vesp. A. I; 2, note 3).

QF. = Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der Germ. Völker, ed. W. Scherer, etc.

R.¹ (Rushw.¹) and R.² (Rushw.²) = the two parts of the Rushworth Gloss to the Gospels (2, note 3).

Rit. = Durham Ritual (2, note 2).

Scint. = Defensor's Liber Scintillarum, ed. E. W. Rhodes, London, 1889.

sm., sf., sn., sv. = strong masculine, feminine, neuter, verb.

Spelm. Ps. = Spelman's Psalter.

wm., wf., wn., wv. = weak masculine, feminine, neuter, verb.

WS. = West Saxon.

ZfdA. = Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum = Haupt's Zeitschrift.

ZfdPh. = Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie.

* indicates a hypothetical form.

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INDEX

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